INDIA

THREE THOUSAND YEARS AGO

JOHAN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.

1791

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INDIA THREE THOUSAND YEARS AGO

OR

THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE ARYAS ON THE BANKS OF THE INDUS IN THE TIMES OF THE VEDAS :

BEING THE EXPANSION OF A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE
TOWNHALL OF BOMBAY BEFORE THE MECHANICS'
INSTITUTION, 1858.

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BY JOHAN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.,

HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
AND MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

JOHN, LORD ELPHINSTONE, G. C. H.,

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,

etc. etc. etc,

MY LORD;

It was under the auspices of your Lordship's considerate and vigorous government that the Course of public Lectures,—designed for the purpose of literary and scientific instruction,—of the first of which the following pages form an expansion, was delivered in the Townhall of Bombay, at the commencement of the present year, in connexion with our local Mechanics' Institution. On this account, I am well disposed to offer this little brochure for your Lordship's acceptance. I have other reasons, however, for presenting you with this simple, though inadequate, token of my respect and regard. Like your distinguished relative, the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone,—whose name is associated in the West of India with all that is judicious and disinterested in British administration, as applied to a state of oriental society fashioned, moulded, and guided by principles, which, though requiring improvement or change, demand the most attentive observation and study of all who have to deal with them,—you have long taken a particular interest in all geographical description and antiquarian and historical research, calcutated to throw light on the past and present condition of this great country, and of the numerous tribes and tongues which form its diversified population. Few, if any, of our statesmen have seen and learnt so much of India as yourself; not only in connexion with your public deliberation and movements as the head of the Madras snd Bombay Presidencies respectively, but as an intelligent and enterprizing traveller among the valleys and mountains to the north of India, in which its earliest inhabitants were first established, and which, from age to age, have witnessed the advent of the fresh Asiatic tribes which have sought to participate in its reputed riches or acquire its coveted sovereignty. To our learned Societies and Educational Institutions in Bombay, you have personally given every assistance which could be reasonably expected or even desired. The public Economic and General Museum now forming in the midst of us has enjoyed your constant and effective direction and patronage. "The Bombay Selections," published since the commencement of your Lordship's present administration, contain a mass of statistical, ethnographical, and geographical information of the most valuable character. To your Lordship's enlightened zeal and constant advocacy; the great public works advancing throughout our various provinces; which are most palpable symbols to the native of the resources of the British government and people are deeply indebted. Your Lordship's judgment, forethought, vigilance, promptitude, decision, and courage, with that effective cooperation of public agency which they have selected and harmonized, have, by the blessing of God, whose gifts they are, instrumentally contributed much as, everywhere acknowledged, to preserve the threatened peace of the West of India during the season of this awful affliction which has been sent to other districts of this great country.

In the little work which, in association with your Lordship's name, and at the request of the Institution before which it was delivered, I now lay before the public, I have endeavoured to to glean from the oldest compositions of the Hindus, the Vedas, and especially from the first of them, the Rig-Veda—of which two of the others, the Sama and Yajur are principally extracts, while the fourth, the Atharvan, is of much later origin—the general information which they contain concerning the carliest state of Indian society, particularly as it bears on the illustration of that of later times. In doing this I have availed myself of the various translations mentioned in the notes which I have sub-joined, but constantly referred, also, in all matters of importance, to the works of our greatest orientalists who have made the most important discoveries in Indian antiquities, and to the original Sanskrit text of the Vedas and their *Bhashyas*, or Commentaries, from my own study and investigation of which made in their more important connexions with the opinions, institutions, and practices of the Hindus, I have drawn, as will be seen. to a considerable extent, My desire has been to give, as far as practicable within the restricted range assigned to me, a personal contribution to the First Chapter of Indian History. Those who best know the limited historical material at the disposal of the Indian student, and the bulky and obscure volumes from which it has to be drawn, will give the most credit for any success which may have been experienced in this attempt. The ancient Vedas, which consist of Odes and Hymns addressed to the divinities which they recognized, contain but few allusions which can be made to bear on the illustration of the external history of the A'ryas, who so long proved the ruling tribe in India, and whose assumed superiority among the various peoples domiciled in this great country is still to be observed to the present day. But those remarkable compositions, here and there throw most interesting light on the social and religious state of that people shortly after their settlement on the banks of the Indus and its affluents. To the times of the Vedic compositions the following judgment of Mr. Gladstone is, mutatis mutandis, precisely applicable:—"In much that this Homeric world exhibits, we see the taint of sin at work, but far, as yet, from its perfect work and its ripeness; it stands between paradise and the vices of later heathenism, far from both, from the latter as well as from the former." The educated natives of India, I am thoroughly convinced, from all that I know of their views and feelings, will admit this fact; and they will readily abandon the position which their countrymen occupy with reference to the influence and authority of later Hinduism. With this movement, however, they will not be contented ; for even on the Vedas a permanent resting-place cannot possibly be found. The patronage given by government to the publication, and translation, and exposition of the Vedas and their kindred literature, will thus have a moral effect throughout the whole of India, incalculably exceeding in value the money which has been spent in this enterprize. This patronage has hitherto reflected great credit on the East India Company, through whose administration this wondrous eastern empire has been founded; and it will doubtless be continued by the imperial administration which has just commenced, and for a blessing on which, to the enlightenment and elevation of India, many prayers, offered up in the prevailing name of the Purchaser and Prince of Peace, are rising for a memorial before God.

For the opinions expressed through this pamphlet, I am, of course, alone responsible. Since the last sheet of it got into type, I have received the third volume of Professor H. H. Wilson's Translation of the Rig-Veda; and I have been gratified to find that it fully warrants the deductions which I have made from those portions of the Veda,—the third and fourth Ashtaks, or Ogdoads,—which that volume embraces. Throughout the Lecture I have given my authorities, adding some illustrative notes which may not be without their value to certain classes of readers.

Begging your Lordship to excuse this intrusion, I am, my, Lord,

Yours with great respect and regard.

JOHN WILSON.

BOMBAY OCTOBER, 1858.

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INDIA THREE THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

The India of the present day and the India of ancient times differ very much in their extent and productions, and connexions with the other nations of the world. The India of the present day includes the whole country lying between the Hindu Kush and the Himalaya mountains on the north and the island of Ceylon on the south; and between the coasts of Sindh, Gujarat, the Konkan, and Malabar on the west, and the confines of China, Burmah, and the shores of Orissa and Coromandel on the east. The area of that portion of it which belongs to the British Government and its Allies is mentioned in a late Parliamentary Return, as amounting to 1, 465, 322 (or, in round numbers, a million and a half) square miles.* Among its ranges and clusters of picturesque hills and sublime and gigantic mountains, the highest in the world, and over its and oceanic plains, there is a population, of multitudinous races and tribes, estimated at from a hundred and eighty to two hundred millions of souls, and actually not probably falling short of the larger of these numbers.* It possessess every variety of climate, ranging from almost unendurable cold to unendurable heat The fertilizing rains of heaven,—evaporated from its surrounding oceans, condensed on its lofty eminences, and precipitated by its tropical atmospheric agitation,—descend upon a large portion of it with a copiousness which there is scarcely room enough to receive while a powerful sun renders them in their season a surprizing source of vivification and productiveness;† though portions of it, especially on the borders of Rajputana, are rainless districts, and form only a fearful desert, like the valley of the shadow of death, the *Marusthal*‡ of its own people, Viewed in totality, it is a country of remarkable natural richness and capability. Its principal river systems, rising on its northern heights and platforms, and flowing both to the south-west, as that of the Indus and its affluents, and to the south east, as those of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, are unequalled in the olden continents, and of great importance both for irrigation and navigation; while its secondary river systems, as those rising from the Vindhy-adri and Sahyadri; and flowing to the west and south-east, promise to reward the enterprize and industry of man, now devoting them in part to these important objects under servants of the British Government distinguished alike by science and philanthropy.* Its vegetable productions, ministering both to the necessities and luxuries of its people, sustain the majority of its inhabitants, even without the use of animal food. Their clothing is derived from one of its humble perennial plants. Their houses are in many instances constructed from the branches and leaves of a single tree, which may have grown at their own doors. The material of the instruments of their labour is ready for their hands throughout the length and breadth of the land. They tread, in some districts, on mineral treasures of the useful metals and of coal, the vital aliment of machinery, on both its cultivated and uncultivated fields. Its ' kings barbaric" have their "pearl and gold;" and its jewels and gems shine and sparkle in the palaces of the great in the lands of civilization and refinement. It exchanges its commodities with foreign lands, recognizing the commercial fellowship of the nations of the earth; but does this more for convenience than from economic constraint. If supplies are brought to it from afar, it is more because its people lay not hold of them at hand than because of any natural destitution of them within its own borders. The annual public revenue of the portion of it belonging to Britain, is about thirty millions sterling; while its public debt, which could probably be cleared at once by available assets is less than the product of two years of this revenue.* Its exports are of the most valuable and abundant character ; and they are conveyed from it, to considerably upwards of a million and a half tons annually, even to the most distant parts of the earth. A large and continuous current of wealth is flowing into it from the west.† It is now sharing the benevolent solicitude, as it is enjoying the government,—which it has not yet learned adequately to appreciate,—of the most enlightened and philanthropic nation of the world.

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* Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom, (1857) P. S. The number of square miles, here mentioned, is exclusive of certain of the Portuguese and French territories entered as "not known."

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* In the Blue book above referred to, p. 8, the population of India is stated at 180, 367. 148, being thirty millions in excess of that set forth by the East India Company only three or four years ago. There is reason to believe that even this estimate of a hundred and eighty millions is fully twenty millions short of the reality. e. g., the Native States under Bombay, exclusive of Kachh, Kathiawad, and Kolapur, are given at only 2,000, 934, which certainly cannot include all the population of the Baroda territories properly so called, of the districts of Pattan and Khadi; and of the tributaries in the Revakanta, Mahikanta, Palanpur, Southern Maratha Country, and other Agencies. Similar shortcomings in reckoning are elsewhere apparent.

† For notices of the Principal Falls of Rain in India, see an excellent paper by Dr. Buist on the Physical Geography of India, in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, 1856-1857

‡ The Region of death, applied to a desert.

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* Colonel Arthur Cotton, of the Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant Haig, and other assistants trained by him in connexion with the great waterworks of Rajamandari, Tanjur, etc.

The India of ancient times, of which we are to treat this evening, had no such magnitude and importance. It was only the country of the river Indus, from which it received its name—afterwards applied to the whole land, the boundaries of which we have just mentioned. It was only, or principally, the *Panchanada*, the Penta-potamia of the Greeks, or Panjab, the Land-of-the-five waters of later times, comprising the districts of the affluents of the Indus, denominated in the ancient Sanskrit the *Sinahuh*, or *Sindhus* of which *Indus* is the equivalent, the sibilant letter *s* having been transmuted, according to well-known usage, into *h*, easily elided by a people like the Greeks, too little careful like ourselves of orthoepical precision. The land of the INDUS was the original INDIA; and to speak of our leaving India to go to Sindh, or the Panjab, is as consummate nonsense as for a Northumbrian to say that he leaves England when he goes to the districts of ancient Anglia. Ancient India did not comprehend a twentieth part of the territory or resources of what is now Modern India. Its people were ignorant of the great and opulent continent, to which the conquests of their descendants in after times were destined to extend in which the intelligence and activity of their race were to be developed, and in which trial was to be made of their ability to elevate or depress the tribes who had gone before them, and who were the first of the human family to behold the natural wonders and to taste the provi-dential bounties by which we are still surrounded.

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* The revenue of the Indian Government amounted in 1855 to £ 29,133,000, while its debt at the same date was only £55,531,120,.

† The tonnage of the imports into India (exclusive of that of native craft) for the year ending April 1855 was 1,637,379 to ; while that of the Exports was 1,614,877 tons. The value of the Imports for this year was £14,470.92, and that of the Exports was £20,194,255, the balance in trade in favour of India being thus £5,773,328, nearly six millions sterling.

So much for prefatorial and geographical explanation. A word now in chronological and ethnographical exposition. We have entitled our lecture, "India Three Thousand Years Ago: or the Social State of the A'ryas on the Banks of the Indus in the Time of the Vedas." We have done this with deliberation and becoming literary warrant. Amidst the mass of wild and reckless legendary matter contained in the ancient writings of the Indians and Singhalese one or two points of time have been ascertained with precision. One of the most important of these is the death, in the year 544 or 543 before Christ, of Shakya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, a system of daring and erroneous speculation which ascribes all existences and changes to simple nature and growth, viewed without reference to an all-wise and all-powerful Creator, or to a directing and sustaining Providence; and which represents the highest good of man as realizable in the extinction of his distinctive spiritual being.* A tendency to this system of thought, but not fully developed or organized, is seen in other writings, as those of Kapila Muni, the founder of the Sankhya, or Numeral System of Indian Philosophy, which in its origin must consequently be older than Buddhism. Both the primitive Sankhya and the Buddhist writings, and also the more ancient authorities of two other Schools of Philosophy preceding them in point of time, recognize the existence of a body of poetieal literature called the VEDAS. One of these schools of philosophy now alluded to, the Purva (or Prior) Mimansa professes to seek an orthodox interpretation of the Vedas, thus recognizing them as ancient works of authority; and the latter, the Uttara or Lower) Mimansa, or Vedanta, professes to accomplish their "end" or "object" simply by a pantheistic recognition of the Divine Spirit alleged to be the only Entity, thus showing consinderable progress in speculation since the time of the origination of the Vedas.† These schools of philosophy also refer to Liturgical prose works, the Brahmanas, associated with the Vedas and professedly comprehended under their name, but found, both by their diction and style and ways of applying the poetical Vedas to be posterior to them by at least two or three centuries. The Vedas,it is observed, are themselves collections of different poetical pieces of varying age; and an interval of some extent must have occurred between their composition formation into Collection or *Sanhitas*, arranged on different principles of construction * In this way we are carried back by a

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*On the date of the death of Shakya Muni, or Buddha (the comprehending-Intelligence), see the satisfactory Comparison of the Northern and Southern Buddihst Chronologies in Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, the great standard work on Indian Antiquities,

† For a brief view of the Six Schools of Indian Philosophy, see Lecture by the author, delivered at the request of the Bombay Dialectic Society,

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* The word Veda may be rendered Fount-of-Knowledge or of Vision, the Sankrit root of the name *vid* or *vidh*, appearing in the Greek *Eidew* and *Eidw* Latin *vido* and *video*,and English *wit.*

The *Rig-Veda,* the oldest of the four Vedas has its some 11,000 distichs, or *rich*, from which it receives its name, arranged in hymns according to their authors and the gods whom they invoke. The *Yajur Veda,* the Sanhita of which is called the Vajasaneya; and which has about half the number of distichs found in the Rik or Rig derives about half its material from the Rig. The *Sama Veda,* which is only about half the size of the Yajur, draws almost its whole contents from the Rig selecting them in small portions from particular hymns and arranging them principally for sacrificial chanting. The distichs, or verses, of the *Atharva-veda,*—which is posterior to the other in composition,–including a few of the later hymns of the Rig, and dealing principally incantation and curses, are nearly, according to Dr. Roth, its learned Editor, as numerous as those of the Rig. For interesting information on the arrangements of the Vedas, see Dr.R. Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschiste des Wed; and for an Index to the passages occuring in the Vedas respectively, see a paper by W. D. Whitney in the Indische Studien of Dr. A Weber, Vol. ii. 321-368.

Dr. Roth founds an ingenious argumrnts for the antiquity of the vedas on the ancient grammatical and other helps to their it terprenation and recitation. The pratishakhy Sutras, contatning simple rules of Sanskrit, and particularly, Vedic grammar, he assigns to the fifth or end of the sixth century before Chirst These Sutras mtntion the school of Sakla and others as the compilers of the vedic collection in such a way as to show that that collection cannot fall later than the seventh century before Christ. The composition of the Hymns of the Vedas must have preceded their collection by several legitimate criticism to a period stretching probably between the fifteenth and twelfth centuries before Chirst, period, even on the side proximate to ourselves fully "three thousand years ago." That period, it must be evident, is the most interesting in Indian history, for it is in it that we find the germ of the Indian nation and Indian institution As connected with India it was tilll ate nearly wholly unknown to the dwellers in the orient as well as in the occident. The Indians though they sung or chaunted the Vedas, as they still do in their privileged worship, did not look to them with intelligence for information respecting their fathers and country; for, in conformity with their bewildering traditional veneration of them and the dicta of their later writings, they held that they had come in their complete form from the four mouths of their god Brahma.* They withheld them as long as possible

centuries. Again, Yaska an old grammarian, the author of the Nighantu and Nirukta, expository works on the Vedas, and who flourished a considerable time before Panini (placed by Dr. Roth 350 B. C.) refers to the Brahmanas, or finished liturgical works on the Vedas, in such a way as to recognize them as works of antiquity in his own day. To the age of the Brahmanas, we must add the time which must have intervened between their formation and the formation of the Vedic Collections, which are themselves not all of the same age, that of the Atharva veda in particular, being more modern than the rest. Making suitable allowances of time for the formation of the Brahmanas and for the several Collections of the Vedas, we are carried back for the origin of their hymns to a time such as that we have indicated above. This argument, considering its source, is entilled to great respect. Yet, the age of the gramatical auxiliaries to the interpretation of the veda requires a more extensive elimination than has yet been made.

* See, e. g. Bhagavata Purana Skanda iii. 12. 30. 37. 39. Manu (1. 23) says the three primordial Vedas were milked by the Supreme Ruler from Fire, the Air, and the sun (अग्नि, वायु, रवि

formed by the gods, is called *Brahma'varta*."* The Sarasvati is the Sarsuti north-west of Thaneshar (Ṣthaneshvar), as noticed by Professor Wilson in his Vishnu Purana.† It seems, from the manner in which it is sometimes spoken of in the Vedas, to have been a favorite with the A'rya's;‡ and this probably because of some resemblance–such perhaps as that of losing itself in the sand for it etymologically means a lake,–which it bore to the *Haraqaiti*, river in the original Airya, of which it was the namesake.|| The Drishadvati is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvati. I am not aware that the A'pay'a has been identified, though it may be the Vip'ap'a, mentioned in the Ma'habha'rata§ along with the Dr̤ishadvati

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* Manu ii. 17, Sir. Willam Jones says, "frquented by the gods;" but the original is देवनिर्मित formed by the gods.

† Wilson's Visnu Pura'na, p. 180.

‡ Vasishtha devotes to it alone two hymns in the 5th ashtaka of the Rig Veda.

|| For the idenfication of the name *Haraqaiti* with *Saraswati*, we are indebted to Burnouf (Commentaire surle Yacna, Notes et Eclair cissements , p. xcii.) From *Haraqui'i* the district of *Arachotia* of the Greeks (Arrian, Exped, Alex .iii. cap. 23 Strab, lib. xv. c. 2; Dionys. Perieg. v. 1096; Plin. lib **vi.** cap, 25) derived its name. Burnouf, while ascribing a common origin to the names *Haraquiti* and *Saravati* felt unable to say whether Persia or India can claim the original. Noticing, however, district of *Haro'yo*, mentioned in the Vendid'ad of the Pa'rsis and identifying the word with *Srayu*, the name of an Indian river (now the *Sarju*, afterwards mentioned in this lecture,) he justly observes that Zend *Haro'yo* is the more ancient form of the word as far the vowels are concerned, (p. ciii et seq.)

§ Bhishma Parva ii. 342. Langlois,in his translation of Rigveda, tom. ii. p. 230, says, "Je ne sais quelle est la riviere qui portait la nomme d' Apaya.

and Vipasha. In another of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, the rivers *Vipa't*-the equivalent according to etymology and to the Brahmanical commentator on the Veda, of the *Vipa'sha'* of the Maha'bhara'ta, and origin of the present Be'*as*, the *Hyphasis* or *Bibasis* of the Greeks,—and the *Chhutudr'i* in later times the *Shatudri* or *Satlej*,—are mentioned as holding a conversation with the sage Vishvamitra, the author of many of the Vedic hymns.[*] The *Vip'ash'i* and the dwellers on the *Vitasta'*,—the *Hydaspes*, or Jhelum, and the *Saryu*, (whether that near Ayodhya' or not is uncertain), are mentioned in a hymn of Va'mdeva It is thus seen that the Panjab and its neighbourhood formed the original habitat of the Indian A'rya's. The rivers of the south-eastern system are brought to notice in the more advanced portions of the Ṛig-Veda. The *Yamuna* and the *Gomati* are first mentioned by Shaya'va'shva,"a descendant of Atri," in the fourth Ashtaka.[‡] The *Ganga'* (Ganges) is only once mentioned and that in the eighth or last Ashtaka.[§]

[*] Ṛig-Veda, Muller's text, vol. ii. p. 828.

[†] Ṛig-Veda 3d. adh. 6th. asht. 20th-22d. w.

[‡] Ṛig-Veda 4th. ashtak, 3rd adhy. (Muller, ii. 452) The *Yamuna* is also mentioned by Vasishtha, viewed by the Hindu legends as a contemporary of Vishva'mitra, Ṛig-Veda, 15th asht. 2d. adh. S. 15, 19th. dis. 17. 19.

[§] This is in a hymn addressed to the Personified Rivers, the 4th of the 3rd adhy. In this hymn the *Sindhu* (which is in the masculine gender, while all the others are in the feminine) is spoken of as the chief river. With it are invoked other rivers in the following order :—*Ganga'* ; *Yamuna'*; *Sarasvati* ; *Shutudri*, which the *Parushni*, the Hydraotes from "Iravti," the *Asikni* the Chandrabhaga, (identified from the "Akesines," as by Lassen) and the *Marudvridha'* the *Vitasta'* (Hydaspes for Vidaspes) the *Arjikiya*, expressly mentioned as having a black skin: 'He [Indra] punished for man those wanting religious rites; he tore off their black skin.* The Pisha'chas are said to have been tawny-coloured †

At the time at which the earlier portions of the Vedas were composed the A'rya's, as we have already hinted, obviously inhabited the banks of the various affluents of the Indus and the province now denominated the Panjab. Though Sayana A'cha'rya, the great Brahmanical commentator on the Vedas, who flourished so late as the fourteenth century after Christ, interprets the rivers mentioned in the Vedas as the great streams of modern India, the text of the Veda gives him no authority for so doing. The rivers of the Vedas seem all to have been before the immediate observation of the writers of the Hymns (*Suktas*) of which the Collection of the Rig-Veda is composed. "Thou Indra hast rescued the kine, thou hast won the Soma juice; thou hast let loose the *seven rivers* to flow."‡ "Thou didst traverse *ninety and nine streams* like a hawk." His exploits are most glorious, in that he has replenished the *four rivers* of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth."§ 'All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni [the god of fire] as the *seven great rivers* [united] flow into the ocean."|| In the Panjab, we have four, or five, or seven, or more,

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* त्वचं कृष्णामरंधयत् Muller's Rig-Veda, vol. ii. P. 72.

† Ibid. p. 89. Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol ii. p.44. One worshipper in the Veda asks for himself a tawny-hued son.

‡ Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 88. See also, p. 99.

§ Ibid. p. 168.

|| Ibid. p. 189.

great rivers according as we cross it to the north or south. It is probably this district which is denominated in the Vendida'd of the Parsis, the *Hapta Hen'du** or Seven Indies, the word Hen'du springing as is obvious, from the *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus. Indeed, the Indus, is specifically mentioned in the Veda as that river on the banks of which some of the composers of the Vedas actually lived. Thus, we have, "May *Sindhu*, the renowned bestower of wealth hear us (fertilizing our) broad fields with water."† "I repeat with a(willing)mind the praises of Bhavya⌈a king⌉ dwelling on the banks of the *Sindhu*."‡ In one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda three specific streams are thus mentioned as connected with the worshippers of the Vedas :—"Gloriously shine forth, O Agni, in the places in which the descendants of Manu inhabit, on the banks of the *Drishadvati'* the *A'paya'*, and the *Sarasvati*."§ These streams, I am of opinion, are connected with the south-western and not with the south-eastern system of Indian rivers. Two of them are thus noticed by Manu: "The country between the divine rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati they had a white or fair complexion. They were not fully or peaceably established in the territories in which they were then found. The facts to which I have now referred have not escaped the notice of the learned and cautious translator of the Rig-Veda, Professor H. H. Wilson. "That they [the ancient Indians,] he says, had extended themselves from a more northern race is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used, on more than one occasion, in soliciting long life,—when the worshipper asks for a hundred *winters* (*himas*) a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair complexioned people, at least comparatively, and foreign invaders of India, as it is said that Indra [the god of the Ether or Firmament] divided the fields among his *white*-complexioned friends after destroying the indigenous Barbarian races, for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression *Dasyu*, which so often recurs, and which is often defined to to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites but attempts to harass their performers "* The Dasyus, here mentioned, are doubtless the *Daqyus* of the Parsi sacred writings, and the *Dahyas* of the Behistun tablets, rendered by ' countries" or "provinces," probably of an exterior position like the Goim or Gentiles of the Hebrews. They were not altogether Barbarians; for they had distinctive cities and other establishments of at least a partial civilization, though the A'ry'as, lately form more bracing climes than those which they inhabited, proved too strong for them. The A'ry'as of the Vedas, found, or made, other human enemies for themselves besides these Dasyus, or perhaps human enemies included under the general denomination of Dasyu, but with other more special names. Among these are to be particularly mentioned a people, often alluded to, called *Rakshasas* from whom they suffered much, and who by their descendants were transferred in idea to the most distant south, and treated by them as a race of mythical giants; the *Ugras*, afterwards the typical representatives of fierce or cruel giants;* the *Pishachas*, viewed in later times as a set of mischievous and frolicsome devils; and the *Asuras*, afterwards looked to as wicked spirits, though they are thus spoken of in the Veda, "Encountering the (Asuras) carrying off Dabhi'ti he [Indra] burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched the prince with their cattle, their horses, and their chariots.'† Among peoples hostile to the A'ry'as we also find noticed the *Ajasas*, *Yakshas*, *Shigravas*‡ *Kikatas*,§ and others. The enemies of the A'rya's are sometimes

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*Vendida'd, Ist fargard.

†Sa'yana Acha'rya, as hinted by Prof. Wilson, Rig-Veda, ii. p. 8, understands by the word Sindhu here, जलाभिमानी देवः, the god presiding over waters. Even in this sense, however, it is nothing but the personified Indus.

‡ सिंधावधि Rig-Veda, 2nd asht, 1st adh. 11 th w.

§ दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि. Text of Rig-Veda by Muller, vol. ii. p. 747. I have not seen the translation of this part of the Veda by Prof. Wilson, who may probably have appended to it an illustrative note.

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*Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. xlii.

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*According to the system of the mixed castes set forth in Manu (x. 9). the *Ugra* is fictionally sprung from a Kshatriya male and a Shu'dra woman.

† Wilsons' Rig-Veda, vol. ii. pp. 245-246; Muller, vol. ii. 487. Asura, as afterwards noticed, means Lord. The giving of this name to a tribe is analogous to what we see in the case of N'ayaka, of a similar meaning (Dux,) applied to the aboriginal tribe of the N'ayaka-da's, east of Baroda.

‡ Rig-Veda. 5th Asht. 2 adh. warga, 27.

§ The Kikatas are denonimated *nichas* or vile people, a form of expression much used since the Caste system has been established. Rig-Veda, Asht. iii. adh. 3. w. 21.

from the curiosity and intelligence of the west. European gold and European importunity, however, have, principally in our own day, secured their possession,.* and European learning and European ingenuity, with partial assistance from the natives of India and the writings they have received from their fathers, are securing their interpretation. They are all now in the process of being published and translated, by learned Britons, Frenchmen, Germans, and Americans, the East India Company being the chief patron of the work of their manifestation to the world.†

On opening the Vedas we find that the people of whom they treat, or rather whose religious services they embody, are called *A'rya'*. This word, the Brahmanical commentators on the Vedas, and subsequent literary works, render by "respectable men." The text of the Vedas proves, however, that it is not, as there principally employed, a simple qualifying denominative, but a patronymic name, simply indicative of an *Aryan people*.‡ The orientalist at once recognizes it as the equivalent of the *Airya* of the P'arsi's, as in the first fargard of the Vendida'd and other places, in which *Airya vae'jo*, or the "pure Airya,"—the *Ariana* of the Greeks and eastern *Ira'n* of later times,—is spoken of; as in the Yashts, and other liturgical pieces, in which it is coupled with *Tu'irya* or *Tura'n*, a neighbouring country ; and as in the Behistun tablets, deciphered and translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Professor Westergaard and Mr. Norris.[*] It was probably the ultimate extension of the name A'rya to the land of the Veda which led to the distinction made by the Zoroastrians of the "pure" or "original" Airya,—now referred to, - from which the original tribes of Ir'an had their dispersion.

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* The MS. copy of the Rig-Veda now in my possession for many years, and which I originally acquired for J. S. Law, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, is a Christian trophy, surrendered by a Brahman convert to Christianity, baptized at Bankot by the Rev. James Mitchell.

† Three volumes of a critical edition of the Rig-Veda in Sanskrit. with the commentary of the S'ayana A'ch'arya, have been published, under the auspices of the East India Company, by the learned Dr. Max Muller of Oxford, who has devoted ten busy years to the work of editing them. His task is scarcely yet half finished. The translation of Rig-Veda, by professor H. H. Wilson, proceeds as the original text appears.

‡ I have noticed instances, even in the Rig-Veda, in which the word *a'rya* seems to be used in the sense of "high, or respect-

That the A'rya's, in the time of the Vedas, were not in their primitive country is, I think, evident from several considerations. They counted their years by "winters," indicating a country in which the cold season was peculiarly marked[†] They laid great stress on the *ashvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice, like the northern tribes. Compared with their neighbours

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table," but this is perhaps a figurative use of the word, according to the well-known analogy of our adjective "frank, "expressive of the qualities strikingly exhibited in the Frank people. In the event of *a'rya*, or *arya* in the sense of "high" or "respectable" being the origin of the name of the country, *A'rya* is probably equivalent to "Highlands."

[*] In the ancient Persian tablets it reads *Ariya*, and in the Scythian tablets, *Arriya*.

[†] Dr. Stevenson, was, I believe, first person to direct attention to this fact. See his Translation of the Sa'ma-Veda, p. 86. In addition to this translation of the Sa'ma, we have that of Dr. Benfey, inGerman, accompanied by a critical apparatus.

they were doubtless principally dependent for their clothing. They were not strangers to the use of iron and to the crafts of the blacksmith, coppersmith, carpenter, and other artisans. They used hatchets in felling the trees of their forests,—among which the *Ashwattha* (Ficus religiosa). the *palasha* (Butea frondosa), and various species of Acaci, seem to have been favourites,*-and they had planes for polishing the wood of their chariots They constructed rims of iron to surround the wheels of their carts. They fabricated coats of mail, clubs, bows, javelins, swords or cleavers, and discs or coits, to carry on their warfare; to which they were sometimes called by the sound of the conch-shell. They made cups, pitchers and long and short ladles, for use in their domestic economy and the worship of the gods. They employed professional barbers to cut off their hair. They knew how to turn the precious metals and stones to account; for they had their golden earrings, golden bowls, and jewel necklaces. They maintained their command over the useful animals. Like the ancient Egyptians, they had chariots of war from which they fought, and ordinary conveyances drawn by horses and bullocks;† and,. unlike them, they had rider-bearing steeds and grooms to attend them. They delighted to speak of their ' well trained horses,' their "masters of horses and chariots," and their "waggons"and "famous cars Their princes, and priests, and even gods sometimes had names, and titles derived from their connexion with the equine race. They had the elephant in a state of subjection; but it is not certain that they used it for warlike purposes, as was probably done by the Aborigines in the south.* They were acquainted with the virtues of some herbs, and made an inebriating juice of the *Somalata* or moonplant, the acid asclepias or *Sarcostema viminalis*, which they thought an acceptable beverage both to gods and men, even for purposes of intoxication as well as exhiliration. *Ghrita*, or clarified butter, was as agreeable to them as to their descendants; and they were not strangers to the potency of the fermented "barley bree. "* They had eunuchs in their community. The daughters of vice were seen in their towns, and that it would appear, with but a small accompaniment of shame. Venders of spirits were also tolerated by them. They had "halls of justice;" and though their worship was altogether of a domestic character, they had also still professes to be the municipality in the Maratha villages as the natives here present well know, though they may not yet have thought of the origin of the designation. Of the Dasyas mentioned often in the Vedas in contrast with the A'rya's, no such traces can be found, though they are once or twice mentioned by Manu.* The word *das*, derived from *dasyu*, ultimately came to signify a bondman. In this sense, it has its analogue in our word *slave*, derived from the *Slavi* people, so many of whom have become serfs in the modern regions of their abode. Some of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the Aryan race mentioned in the Vedas seem to have been of Aryan origin; but we see from the non-Sanskrit elements in the Indian languages, that they must have belonged principally to various immigrations of the Scythian or Turanian family of the human race. The more marked Turanians in Gujarat, and other provinces contiguous to us, are still denominated the *Ka'li Praja'*,† or black population, as distinguished from those of lighter shade, in whom Aryan blood is to a greater or less extent found.

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* The *Khadira*, or khair tree, the Acacia from which catechu is made, and the *Shami*, or Acacia sami, are frequently mentioned. So are the *Shalmali*, or Bombax heptaphyllum. The *Kusha*, or *dharbha*, grass seems to have been much esteemed. It was used in sacrifices.

† *Ratha*, the Sanskrit for a chariot, is recognized in the Latin *rota* a wheel. A warrior is frequently called *rathaestao*, a stander on a chariot, in the Parsi Zend writings.

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* Among non-domestic animals the *vṛiku*, or wolf, and the *varáha*, boar, and *sinha*, lion, are frequently mentioned.

† (यव) *Yava*, the Sanskrit for barley, is recognizable in the Greek ζία, as has been frequently noticed.

‡ The drinking of spirits. according to the modern system of the Hindus, is a *Mahapatak*, or great sin, equal to that of incest with a mother or the murder of a Brahman. Yet they do not support this view of matters by caste discipline, except in rare cases.

The A'rya's in the times of the Vedas were principally a pastoral, though to a certain extent an agricultural, people.‡ Their flocks and herds, and their sheep, goats, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, and teams of oxen, with the hump on their shoulders, are frequently mentioned, and made the subjects of supplication and thanksgiving both to gods and men. A daughter among them in the earliest times was designated *duhitri*, or milkmaid; and a *Gopa* and *Gopal*, or keeper of cattle, among them, came to mean a protector in general no doubt from the owners or keepers of cows having great importance in the community.* Many expressions formed from a pastoral life have got an extended generic meaning in their lanaguage.† That they were not, however, merely a nomdic people is very evident. As well as their enemies, they had their villages (*gramas)* and towns (*puris*) as well as *Goshthas* or cattle pens;‡ and many of the appliances, conveniences, luxuries, and vices found in congregated masses of the human family. They knew the processes of spinning and weaving, on which on the affluents of the Indus. It would much exceed the objects and limits of this lecture, were I to attempt to trace their progress southward. Referring to the constituency of my present audience, however, I would remark that the city of *Ayodha* (Oude) which they founded on the banks of the Sarayu, and which has become so famous by the mythical poem of the R'ama'yana, was probably, as the seat of of the "fighting-men,"* a designation not unknown to the inhabitants of the original trans-Indian Airya ; † though it is not to be wondered at that the Indians in their secondary settlements in this country, looking to the sublime and impassable mountain barriers to the north (which they assigned as the seat of their gods) should have begun to imagine that they had been, from the beginning the inhabitants of that country, and should have altogether lost sight of their emigration from a distant land. The A'rya's probably first became known to the south of the Narmada' by the foundation of mission and mercantile establishments; ‡ and, afterwards, by emigration and conquest. The Pa'ndya, if not the Chera and Chola Kingdoms, in the South of India, originated with A'ryan colonists ; and, as suggested by Professor

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* Manu, x. 32, 45.

† Vulgarly corrupted into *Parej* in Gujra't.

‡ I have marked off all the passages of the Rig-Veda in which the statements made in this paragraph are founded; but as they are numerous, and no critical matter is dependent on them, I do not here insert them.

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* *Duhitri*—the correspondent of the Zend *dughdhar*, the Greek θυγάτηρ, the German *tochter*, and the Celtic *deor*,—was first noticed as "milkmaid" by Lassen. Kuhn and Lassen make *pa* in the Greek πατήρ, Latin pater, and other cognate words, to signify "protect;" but perhaps, it is more natural to make *pa* an original word for father, and to interpret *pála*, a protector, as one who acts as a father. *Pa*,—with its anagrammatic form *áp*, and with the change of the labial and sometimes of the vowel, as in *bab*, *fa*, *i*, etc,–runs through most languages. A similar remark may be made on the originality of *ma*. and *am*, *im*, etc. for mother, though *matri*, quasi ma'tar, in Sanskrit, as shown by Dr. Max Muller, (Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 15) may mean "former" or "maker."

† See Lassen, in O. C. S. for 1852. pp. 443-444.

‡ This word is the origin of the Sindhian *got* or *gotha*, of the same meaning.

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* From the root *Yudh*, to fight.

† The word is exemplified in the Zend acpay*ayodha*, subduers of horses. See references in Vendida'd of Dr. Brokhaus, p. 386.

† They do not seem, in the first instance, to have acted on an aggressive system of preaching in their early missions, like the Buddhists of after times but on the attractive system of founding *Tirtha*s or religious establishments at "holy places."

Lassen, the designation of the first of these kingdoms may have arisen from a dominant "white people." The Sinhas,—from their capital *Sinhapur* (now "Sihor" near Ghogho),* —established their power on the western coasts of India, conquered the island of Lanka called from themselves *Sinhaladwipa*,† and extended their authority to several places in the eastern seas.‡ The A'rya's were so predominant in the Maharashtra, or Maratha country, about the Christian era and the subsequent centuries, that, as distinguished from its proximate provinces, it was called *Ariake*, the Land of the Aryas, as by Ptolemy, the geographer of the second century, A D. and by the navigator Arrian, thought to be his contemporary.§ A'rya', (in the form A'ryer) is in consequence of this fact the name of a Maratha among the Canarese of the present day, and among the Ma'ngs a degraded tribe in the Southern Mara'tha' Country || The *Pa'ndhar*, or true "white"

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*See Second Memoir, by the author, on the Cave Inscriptions, etc of Western India, in vol. iv. of Journal of B. B. R. Royal Asiatic Society.

† The isle of the Sinhas.

‡ Colonel LeGrand Jacob, in an interesting Address before the Bombay Geographical Society, lately directed attention to the researches of the learned Mr. Friederich of Batavia into the Indian settlements in the Eastern seas.

§ Ptol. Geog. lib. vii. (edit. Bert. p. 198.) For the boundaries of Ariakc, as stated by Arrian, see Vincent's Periplus, vol. ii. pp. 397, 428-438. Neither Arrian nor his commentator seems to have understood the meaning of the designation Ariake'.

|| See Ma'ng Vocabulary in the Bombay Government Selections on Kola'pur, p. 149.

I have seen no allusion to the tiger in the Vedas, though occasional mention is made in them of the lion. This is a presumption that the Rishis, at the time of their composition, had not yet reached the land of the tiger. The distinctive lake Sharya'na'vati' is sometimes mentioned as in the dominions of the pious Rijika. It is supposed to have been in what was afterwards known as the country of Kurukshetra.*

The A'rya's in the time of the oldest portions of the Collection of Laws ascribed to Manu,–which seems to be older than the rise of Buddhism, and which belongs perhaps to the seventh or sixth cenutry preceding Christ,†—had considerably extended them-

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with the *Sushoma*; the *Trishta'ma*, the *Rasa'*, the *Sweti*, and the *Kubha'* (associated with the Sindhu) ; and the *Gomati* and the *Krumu*. The *Rasa'*, several times alluded to in the Vedas, the *Kubha'*, the *Anitabha*, the *Krumu*, and the *Sarayu* are mentioned by Shyavashva in the hymn following that in which he mentions the Yamuna. Rig-Veda, 4th asht. 3rd adh. 12th v.

* 7th asht. 2nd adh. 5th varga.

† Professor Lassen places Manu in the times preceding Buddha, on the ground of the fact that the god *Shiva*, mentioned in the Buddhist Sutras, does not appear in Manu, while of the southern nations of India, only the *Odra*, the *Dravida* [both on the east of the peninsula] and the *Avantya* [that of Ujjayini]and *Satvata* [that of the Sa'tpuda] are mentioned by him. (chap. x.) This argument holds undoubtedly as to certain portions of Manu; but others of them may be supposed to be of a later date. Heretics are sometimes mentioned by Manu in such a keen way as to make us believe that they had an organization hostile to that of the Brahmans, such as first appeared in that of the Buddhists. Female devotees, unknown to Brahmanism, and said by Kulluka Bhatta, the commentator, to belong to the

selves beyond the territory of the Indus. They were then, notwithstanding, still principally north of the Vindhya range of Mountains. "As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains [Himavat and Vindhya] just mentioned lies the tract which the wise men have denominatied, *A'rya'varta* [the abode of the *A'rya's*.]* Included in this general region of *A'rya'varta* but not in what we have already noticed as the *Brahma'varta*, was the region of the *Brahmarshi*, comprehending Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchal and Shurasena;† while the country which lies between Himavat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinashana, and to the west, of Prayaga [the junction of the Ganges and Yamuna,] was distinguished as the *Madhyadesha*, or middle country.‡ We have thus brought to notice four distinct, but advancing, settlements of the *A'rya's* in northern India, in addition to the original one

"Buddhists, etc.," are alluded to (Manu viii. 363). The reference to the *Chinas* (x. 44) would lead us to infer that portions of the work were formed after the origination of the dynasty of *Tsin* (B. C. 260) taking its name perhaps, however, from an olden tribe; and that to the *Yavanas* (ibid,) that the same portions were written subsequent to the advent of the Greeks to the north of India. It is not to be thought that the ancient Indians, who seem to have known but little of their neighbours, knew any thing of the Ionians in the ancient Grecian settlements to the west. The Code ascribed to Manu is far from being, what it professes to be, a homogeneous and monochronous work. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (History of India, p. 11.) justly says "that a code is never the work of a single age."

* Manu, ii. 22.

† Manu, ii. 19.

‡ Manu, ii. 21.

"halls of sarifice, "and "halls of oblation " Idol-shrines are not once mentioned in connexion with them. They constructed skiffs, boats, rafts, and ships. They engaged in traffic and merchandise in parts somewhat remote from their usual dwellings; and, among other articles not found in their own territories, they had noted the soft hair of the Gandha'r sheep Occasional mention is made in their hymns of the ocean, which they had probably reached by following the course of the Indus. Parties among them covetous of gain are represented as crowding the ocean in vessels on a voyage A naval expedition to a foreign country is alluded to, as frustrated by a shipwreck. They sent ambassadors to neighbouring princes; but it does not appear that they were much addicted to the visiting of neighbouring nations. The great river of their country was probably known to the Egyptians in the days of Moses. The *Pi-Shon* the *Sindhu*, (the first syllable of the name being, I think, the Egyptian definite article, and the Kabul affluent being anciently the principal representative of the river towards the north) is mentioned, if we err not in our interpretation, as one of the rivers of paradise in the second chapter of Genesis.[*]

[*] Though I have not seen the etymological similarity of the name above alluded to hitherto referred to, I feel disposed to lay very considerable stress on it. *Pishon* is said, in the Hebrew Dictionaries, to be derived from the root פּוּשׁ, to overflow. But why should the root of Pishon be sought for in the Hebrew more than those of MORE THANTHOSE OF any of the three other rivers of daradise ? *Pi*, as the Egyptian article, occurs in such names as *Pi*-Hahiroth, *Pi*-Thom, *Pi*-Beseth.

Josephus, (Jud.Antiq.i.3.3,) and after him many of the Christian fathers, make the Pishon the Ganges; but the sources of the Ganges are too remote from the watershed of the other

There is no evidence that the \'rya's, at the time to which we now refer, possessed the art of literal writing. The Vedas are in poetry, evidently intended for recitation; and it bears the name of the *Shruti*, or what was merely *heard.* The earliest philosophical treatises of the Hindus, which we have already noticed as posterior to the Vedas, are in the form of *Su'tras, threads*, or *memorial aphorisms.* The body of law of Manu, is the *Smriti*, or what is *remembered.* The Ra'ma'yana and Ma'ha'bharata, the grand epic poems of the Hindus, which in their ancient form are older than the Buddhist times, were, as rightly remarked by Professor Lassen, "*handed down orally*," "as will be unanimously admitted."* The earliest phonetic character now found in India,

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rivers of Eden. Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. pp. 529-530,) on geographical grounds, identifies the Pishon with the Indus, making its associate *Havilah* the *Kampila*, of the Indians, and the *B'dolach*, rendered by Bdellium, not this article, but the more precious one of "musk," the Sanskrit *Mada'laka*, or *Mada'rak.*

* Professor Lassen, who has paid much attention to these works, enters, in the second volume of his Indische Alterthumskunde, into interesting explanations respecting the composition and age of the Indian Epic Poems. They speak themselves of their being recited at great ceremonial and festival occasions. A long interval occurred between their first composition and their assumption of their ultimate form. Valmiki, who appears as the contemporary of king Rama, cannot have been the author of the Ra'ma'yana, which refers to affairs subsequent to his day, even in its oldest portions. The Maha'bha'rata, which is posterior to the Ra'ma'yana, claims *Vya'sa* as its compiler. It does not set itself forth as an original rhapsody repeated to a king, but as a repetition of such a rhapsody made at a Bra'hmanical sacrifice. It tells us that of the 100,000 distichs of which it was composed, only 24,000 belong to the original composition. The quarrel of the Pa'ndavas and

that of the Cave Inscriptions,—the source of the Na'gari' and all its modifications, square and rounded,—is evidently derived from the Phenician and Creek alphabets; and, as it stands, it is possibly posterior to the advance on India of Alexander the Great. Another character, of a Shemitic origin, was in use in the north of India, at least in the times of the Emperor Ashoka, and of the later Bactrian kings, on whose coins it appears. This character was probably employed in the countries bordering on India to the north before the advent of the Greeks; for after this occurrence, bringing a distinct practical alphabet from the west, there could be but little occasion for its fabrication. It may have been preceded by some cuneiform species of writing, resembling those of the Assyrians, Babylonians and ancient Persians, and expressed by *likhana*, which, though signifying ' writing," originally meant "engraving" or "cutting in line;" or it may have been preceded by some species of ideagraphic writing, as that of the Chinese One of the names of a pen in Sanskrit is *aksharatulika'*, or 'letter-brush," which suits the latter supposition *Lipi*, one of the words for writing in general, is

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Kouravas is covered throughout it with a great accretion of other matter. Yet, the original portions of both these poems were composed while the language in which they are written was evidently a living language. They have no allusion to Buddhism like those of later addition. They recognize Shiva as a third great god, but incline principally to Vishnu, and are thus more ancient than the period of Megasthenes,—that of Chandragupta, Sandracottus of the Greeks,—when Brahmanism was divided between Vishnuism and Shivaism.

derived from a root signifying "to besmear, anoint, or paint;" and perhaps it was employed, in the first instance, in the case of pictorial writing, even though *mashi*, or ink, derived from *mashi*, soot or lampblack, was the fluid employed in the process.* I am somewhat confirmed in this supposition by remembering that the word *Warua*, applied to a letter of the alphabet, originally meant "colour," and many have been applied to a primitive ideagraphic sign in the sense of "picture." The oldest numeral system of the Hindus, as found on the Indian Cave Inscriptions prior to and subsequent to the Christian era,--as in part derived from the Chinese. Having made these remarks I would add, that, though the Indians have not the credit of the original invention of an alphabet, they have the peculiar credit of extending an alphabet so as to make it expressive, with an unvarying simple power, of all the sounds of their common speech. It is also certain that they very early made astronomical observations, for, as noticed by Professor Wilson they had, even in the time of the Vedas, an intercalary month for adjusting to each other the solar and lunar years I do not think that prior to the Greeks they had any regular system of coinage. In the time of the Vedas they dealt out gold, and perhaps the other precious metals, by weight. In the times of Manu, when very small pieces of gold and silver were current, probably a stamp representing the

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*Under the various forms of *mashi*,—for the sibilant letters of the word vary,—compare Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary with Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.

weight was put on the pieces, as in the incipient currency of other countries.

We have already mentioned that the Vedas are in poetry. It has several *Chhandas* or measures, which are well adapted for poetical composition and expression in the Sanskrit language Seven of these metres are sometimes jointly mentioned, as the seven mouths of the god Agni; and most of them are sometimes exemplified in the same piece of composition. The principal of them are called the *Ga'yatri*, the *Trishtup*, and the *Jagati*. It is not necessary that I should speak of their pecularities at present.

The hymns of the Vedas are called *Sa'ktas*, or Laudations.* The gods who are addressed in them however, are more praised on account of the benefits desired from them than on account of any excellence which they are supposed to possess. The blessings desiderated in them by the worshippers seem to be almost entirely of a material kind, and are summed up in rain, to fertilize the fields, in wealth, consisting especially of flocks and herds, in children, who, it is observable, are asked without any reference to the *Shra'ddhas* and other funereal rites for which they have been so much desiderated in the later times of the Hindus, in health, strength, vigour, and might, and in victory and the subjugation of enemies. Some importance seems to have been attached to the Su'ktas in the destruction of magic or delusion (*ma'ya'*). † One of them, which occurs near the end of the last Ashtaka of the Rig-

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* *Sukta* is from *su* good, and *ukta*, spoken.

† Rig-Veda, 4th asht. 2nd. adh. sukta, 8. v. 6.

Veda, seems to have been repeated as a charm, for the removal of disease from all the members of the body.*

The slightest inspection of the Vedic Hymns, may show any native of this country that the Hindu authors of posterior times,-claiming, it will be observed a divine sanction for their productions,—entirely err, when they represent the Vedas as an emanation in their concrete form from the mouth of the god Brahma or any other god. The Su'ktas bear the names in general of their own human authors, which also often occur in their composition. The allegation made in some of the philosophical treatises and other works, that these are merely the names of the Bards who were wont to recite them, is quite inadmissible in the view of the contents of these hymns. The sages invoke the Gods for their assistance in composing them, in the same way as the Greek poets invoke the assistance of the Muses in the preparation of their songs. Such passages as the following occur in them "Indra and Agni, desirous of wealth I consider you in my mind, as kinsmen and relations; the clear understanding you have given me (is given) by no one else, and (so gifted) I have composed this hymn to you, intimating my wish for sustenance."* This praise, *Maruts*, is for you, (the work) of a venerable author, capable of conferring delight (by his laudations. May the praise reach you, for the good of your persons, so that we may obtain food, strength, and long life."† This verse occurs in the same words in another Hymn ‡ "The *Gritsamadas* have composed this prayer, these praises Ashvins for your exaltation: be propitiated by them, leaders of ceremonies, and come hither; that blessed with excellent descendants, we may worthily glorify you at this sacrifice."§ Many similar passages are contained in the Vedas. Inspiration, even, in the proper sense of the term, intimating a superhuman unerring guidance, is not claimed in these compositions ||

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* Rig-Veda, 8th asht. 8th adh, 21st varga. This varga, which has not yet been printed, thus commences:—

॥ आक्षेभ्यां ते नासिकाभ्यां कर्णाभ्यां छुबुकादधि ॥
॥ यद्मं शीर्षण्यं मस्तिष्का जिह्वाया विवृहामि ते ॥

"From thine eyes, from thy nostrils, from thine ears, from thy lips, from thy brain, from thy tongue, I expel the disorder of the head."

In this way, the *mantra* proceeds through the various members of the body. It is quite analogous to what we find in the eighth fargard of the Vendida'd of the Parsis (see Author's work on the Parsi Religion pp.318-320)relative to the expulsion, from the body, of the fiend Nacus,by ceremonirl ablution. it is repeated over the Bra'hmans who receive the Rig-Veda on the occasion of their annual purifications,particularly in the month Shra'van, Both it and the corresponding passage in the Vendida'd are interesting in a philological point of view, as dealing with most of the members of the human body, mentionable and unmentionable, and calling to mind the relationship of their names in the cognate languages.

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* Rig-Veda, lst asht. 7th adh. sukta 109. Wilson's Rig-Veda vol. i. pp. 281. Sanskrit text, in Muller, vol. i. p. 855.

† Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. ii. p. 148; Muller, vol. ii. p. 298.

‡ Sukta 168. 10.

§ Wilson, vol. ii. p. 310; Muller, vol. ii. p. 612.

|| The invention, in later times, of other origins for the Vedas in some instances assumed a very ridiculous form. It is said

On examining the composition of the Vedas and other Sanskrit works, we at once see that they are in a language rightly described by our own venerable Ma'rathi lexicographer, as one of "vigor and elegance and majesty;"* and that the relations of this language to our own tongue are of a very interesting and intimate character. Both in grammar and vocables, it is closely connected with the Greek, Latin, Germanic Celtic, and other European languages, which by philologers are all classed with it

(Vishnu Purana iii. 5) that Vaishampayana, a pupil of Vyasa, their reputed compiler, having called upon his disciples to unite with him in the perfromance of expiatory rites for himself, as he had been guilty of incidentally slaying his sister's son, one of them, Ya'dnyavalkya, refused to comply with the wish of his preceptor. For this he was called upon by his master to part with the knowledge which he had acquired from him ! He forthwith out-vomited the Yajur Veda, which the other disciples of Vaishampayana, assuming the form of partridges (*tittiri*), picked up from the ground in its several dirtied texts ! From this circumstance it has received the name of *Taitttriya Krishna Yajur Veda* or the *Taittiriya* Black Yajur Veda. (The term Taittiriya, says Professor Wilson, after Colebrooke, is more rationally accounted for in the Anukramani or Index of the Black Yajush. It is there said that Vaishampayana taught it to Yaska, who taught it to Tittiri, who also became a teacher.) The white Yajush is said in the Vishnu Purana to have been revealed to Yadnyavalkya (the Brahmana who had emptied his stomach) by the Sun in the form of a *Vaja*, or horse. The Konkanasth Bra'hmans thus explain the origin of the name *Va'jasaneya*, given to this form of the Yajur-Veda (referred to in a note, p. 15 of this lecture) :—वाजाः अश्वाः सनाः सटाः सटाः तेषु स्थित्वा वेदो अधीतः तेन वाजसनेयत्युच्यते, *vaja*, horses; *sana*, manes ;—seated upon them he Yadnyavalk ya, joined to the chariot of the Sun] learned the Veda whence it is called the *Vajasaneya*.

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* Preface to Molesworth's Mara'thi Dictionary.

in the same family of languages, denominated the Indo-Teutonic.* The inference is unavoidable, and it is admitted by every philologer of the present day, that the A'rya's and ourselves have sprung from the same original stock Dr. Max Muller, the learned edtior of the Rig-Veda, thus expresses his deep conviction on this matter. "It is hardly possible to look at the evidence hitherto collected , of the intimate relation of the Indo-Teutonic family of languages] without feeling, that these words are the fragments of a real language, once spoken by a united race at a time which the historian has lately hardly ventured to realize, except on the authority of the sacred writings of the Jews. Yet here we have in our hands the relics of that distant time."† The more the correspondence of the Sankrit language with our own European languages is made a matter of study, the more emphatic will this remark be felt to be Overlooking all matters connectcd with the composition and treatment of words in declension, comparison, conjugation, and so forth, which have been particularly illustrated by Bopp, we find hundreds of words, connected with mythical deities, the heavenly bodies, and geographicel denominations; with the material elements; with the changes of days, months, seasons, and years; with the members of our own bodies and our mental and corporeal functions; with the constitution of our families, the designation of our relatives, and our social subordination; with the names and parts of plants and animals; with our houses, villages and towns; with occupations and arts, and their utensils and instruments; with religious rites and services; with qualites and their attributes; and with motions actions, and motives, and their effects and results,—all evidently the same in their origin and to a great extent in their utterance, even to the present day. The A'rya's and ourselves, it is hence obvious, are cousins in the human family. A body of the same people, travelling to the south, came to India, by the mountainous passes leading to the Indus, probably following their sheep and goats, and acquired dominion over the Turanian peoples, the Dasyus, that had got to the climes of the sun before them and had become in consequence somewhat darkened in their skin. Another body of the same people wandered to the far west, and, after being domiciled and blessed there, have come to India, with their ships, and with their goods, three thousand years later, and acquired dominion over the representatives of both A'rya's and Dasyus. What has taken place since the commencement of the British Government in India is only a reunion, to a certain extent, of the members of the same great family. That that reunion is not more intimate than it is, is solely owing to CASTE; respecting which I am certain I do not go beyond the convictions and the sympathies of either of the elements of this meeting, European or native, when I characterize it as the offspring of pride and deceit; as the mainspring of hatred, division, alienation, and tyranny, in this great, but, alas! still darkened land; as the curse of India for many generations; as the unreasonable and fanatical institution, which under the grossest misrepresentation and delusion,—testified against by the full and steady toleration of the British government in India, and by the fair and open and peaceful methods of propagating religion, ever here resorted to by the Christian Church, trusting solely for its expansion to the word of God,-has professed to unfold its banners, now covered with blood and pollution, and which, in the sight of God and man, is, indeed, in this country at least, the grand *bdelugma*, "the abomination of desolation."

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* See, especially, Bopp's Comparative Grammar, translated by Professor Eastwick; Eichoff's Parallele des Langues de l' Europe et de l' Inde; and an article by A. Kuhn, entitled Zur altesten Geschichte der Indo-Germanischen Volker in Weber's "Indische Studien," vol. ii., pp. 321-363.

† Oxford Essays, 1856. p. 30. Though this observation is made with special reference to the Indo-Teutonic languages, it is in a measure applicable to the connexion of this family with the Shemitic, and Hamitic or Turanian families. Those of us who have been engaged in the work of biblical translation in India have noticed a relationship between many Hebrew and Sanskrit words, yet but very partially brought to public notice, notwithstanding the labours of Gesenius, Rodiger, Nork, Kaiser, and others, in this department of philology. We have also noticed obvious connexions between the Sanskrit and Scythian elements of the Indian, and, to a certain extent, of the African languages.

And this leads me to mention the interesting fact, on which I would wish specially to dwell in this lecture, that Caste is not to be found as an instituion existing among the ancient Indians, during the times of the Vedas properly so-called. The *Purusha Sukta*, or Hymn of the Primeval Male, found near the end of the last Ashtaka of the Rig-veda * in which a system of Caste is first mentioned in a very obscure and undeveloped manner, is, as is evident both from its diction and pantheistic sentiments, no genuine portion of the ancient Vedas, though it would appear to have existed and attracted notice in the age of the laws fictionally ascribed to Manu. It is declared by every European orientalist capable of forming a judgment in the case to be only a late addition to the Vedas. The support which even it gives to the system of caste is of a very limited character. The passage in it which approximates the subject is the following :—‘ When they produced Purusha [perhaps equivalent to “when Purusha was produced”] into how many portions did they separate him ? What was his mouth ? What were his arms ? What were pronounced his thighs and feet ? The Brahman was his mouth ; the Rajanya (prince) was made his arms ; the Vaishya was his thighs; and the Shudra sprang from his feet ”* This occurs in a com-

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* It is also given, at least substantially, in the Va'jasneyi Sanhita' of the Yajur Veda, xxxi. 1-16, and in the Atharva Veda, xix. 6. For the different readings in three Vedas in which

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it occurs, see the Original Sanskrit Texts, part first, pp. 8-9, of Dr. John Muir, a work, promising to be singularly useful to Indian students, which has just come into my hands as I have been making up this sheet for the press.

*The original of this passage, I subjoin, as given in the manuscripts of the Rig-Veda to which I have access in Bombay, and which agree with the transcript of Bournouf. यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन् मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का उरू पादा उच्येते ।। ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः उरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ।। The reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, must see that this diction is much more modern than that of the original portions of the Vedas. There are a few more hymns besides that of the Purusha Sukta, such as those treating of *A'tma'* and *Parama'tma'* the Supreme Spirit, which are manifestly interposition which is both metaphysical and figurative; and it probably expresses an idea originally of this character —The Brahman, as the expositor of the will of God, conceived of as an enormous male, and the recipient of the gifts and offerings made to the divinities, was the mouth of this male; the *Rajanya*, the prince or warrior, the instrument of offence and defence, was the arms of this male; the *Vaishya*, as the cultivator of the soil and the original possessor of its wealth, was the thighs of this male ; and the Shudra or slave, as the lowest member of the body social, was the feet of this male. All this is clearly metaphysical and metaphorical, though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic In looking at the genuine portions of the Vedas, we ascertain the following facts, from which we draw rhe inference that caste did not exist in the time of the Vedas.

1. The Brahmans are represented in the Vedas merely as a profession, and not as a caste. Not a word is said in these writings about their origin as diverse from that of other members of the human family. They ask no privileges no account of original dignity or status. They are in the Vedas merely a class of priests, officiating at sacrifices and other religious services, along with other specified classes of priests. The following are instances of the ways in which they are there mentioned. "The chaunters chaunt thee, Shatakratu [a name of Indra], the reciters of the Richas praise thee, who are worthy of praise ; the Brahmanas raise thee aloft like a bamboo pole."*

polations in the Veda, or which, at any rate, belong to much later times than those of the early *Suktas*.

"Thine, Agni is the office of the *Hotri*, of the *Potri*, of the *Ritwij*, of the *Neshtri* ; thou art the *Agnidhra* of the devout; thine is the function of the *Prashastri*; thou art the *Adhwaryu* and the Brahma; and the householder in our dwelling."† Here are eight kinds of priests mentioned, of whom the Brahma', or Bra'hmana, is the last. According to some authorities, altogether sixteen kinds of priests shared in the portions of the offerings on great occasions.¶ It must have been in times later than those of the oldest portions of the Vedas that the word Brahma',or Bra'hmana came to be used in the exclusive sense of god-born priest It is not difficult, indeed, to trace the progress of the Brahman from his Vedic profession to his subsequent position as maintained by Caste. From his peculiar position at sacrifices in the time of the Vedas, he was often their conductor, the *purohita*, or foreman, for this is the literal meaning of the word. This honour he shared only with others in the first instance, many of whom, as Vishvamitra and his school, belonged to the royal race. Agni the god of fire wrs the *purohita* of the gods in the sky ;§ and it was meritorious for kings to have a *Bra'hma*, or *Brahmana'* as his representative on earth The office of the Purohita and Brahma' became hereditary; and the Brahma', as resident in the houses of the great, became of growing consequence, especially in connexion with the anointing of kings and their horse-sacrifices, on which they counted much for conquest and progeny. His study and learning gradually increased his influence; and he was constituted an adviser and counsellor. His supposed peculiar access to the gods gave him a peculiar sanctity He became a legislator; and in this capacity he soon made himself a god upon-earth. Such an exaltation of a human mediator has often, to a certain extent, been witnessed in other countries besides India.

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*See Text in Muller's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 127. Professor Wilson (Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 24.) reads Bra'hmanas In the original here, the word is Brahma'nah, the plural of Brahma'. which, as Dr. Roth has suggested, may mean the utterers of prayer. Brahma' is from Brahma (neuter), prayer.

† Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. ii.209, with the change of Brahma' for its equivalent Bra'hman as in the text (Muller, vol. ii. p. 416)

¶ See note in Wilson, ut sup., where the authorities are quoted and illustrated.

§ Rig-Veda i, l. l. et in mult. loc.

2 The writers of the Vedas, who are denominated *Rishis*, or inditers, and who were doubtless in a religious point of view the highest parties in the Aryan community,* call for support and countenance solely on account of their occupation and doings. Though these occupations may have been in some cases hereditary, they were not confined to one class of the Indian people. They were at least from both the kingly and the priestly classes of the population. Vishvamitra, to whom many of the Hymns of the Vedas are ascribed,† and who in the Vishnu Purana,-

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* The phrase, "As the Rishi among the Vipras" (rendered, in the genitive plural, by मेधाविनां "the intelligent," by the commentator Ma'dhava'cha'rya) occurs in the Sama Veda. Author's MS. of Ma'dhava's commentary, part 2nd. fol 38. Vipra is now synonym of Bra'hman. It is rendered by मेधावी "intelligent," in the commentary on the Rig by Sa'yana.

† E. g. Rig-Veda, Muller, ii. p. 932. et. seq.

one of the most important legendary and traditional treatises,—is represented as one of the seven original Rishis of the present system of things,* was, as is admitted by all kinds of Hindu authorities originally a *Rajarshi*, or a rishi from the rajas, though said to be elevated to the *Brahmarshi*, or Brahman grade of rishis, for his talents, acquirements, and observances. Jamadagni, who is mentioned also in the Veda, as a Rishi †—and who, in the later Hindu legends, is the father of the Avata'ra Parashurama, is represented as the nephew of Vishva'mitra From both Vishva'mitra and Jamadagni, numerous tribes of Bra'hmans of mixed blood, according to the legends, claim descent. Many of the Vedic hymns are by authors said to be either of the princely class, or to have been raised from it to the priestly class.*

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*Vasihistha, Kashyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Vishva'mitra, and Bharadva'ja are the seven Rishis, according to Wilson's Vishnu Pura'na, p. 264. Other lists of the great rishis, are given with variants in Manu, and the Pura'nas, etc. For the age of the Pura'nas, - which are all posterior to the revival of Bra'hmanism after the destruction of Buddhism,—see appendix to the Notes of Colonel Sykes on Ancient India.

† "Vishva'mitra is a remarkable person in the traditions of the Hindu religion : according to the historical and *Paura'nik* authorities, he was originally a member of the *Kashatriya*, or royal and military caste, and himself for sometime a monarch: he was descended from *Kusha*, of the lunar race, and was the ancestor of many royal and saintly personages, who, with himself were called after their common ancestor, *Kushikas* or *Kaushikas*: by the force of his austerities [sic scribunt Brachmanes], he compelled Brahma' to admit him into the *Brahmanical* order into which he sought admission in order to be placed upon a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarreled : his descent, and the cricumstances of his dispute with Vasishtha, are told, with some variation, in the *Ra'ma'ya'na*, (ch. li.—lxv. Schlegel's edition,) in the *Ma'ha'bharata*, *Va'yu*, *Vishuu*, and *Bha'gavata* and other Puranas : the details of the Ra'ma'yana are most ample : the texts of the *Rig-Veda* intimate a general conformity with those of the *Pura'nas* as to the family designation of *Vishva'mitra*, and to occasional disagreements from Vasishtha, originating, apparently, in their respective patronage of hostile princes : according, however, to their heroic poems, the Pura'nas, and various poems and plays, these two saints were on very amicable terms in their relations to the royal family of

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Ayodhya', or to king *Dasharatha*, and his son *Ra'ma*." Wilson's Rig-Veda, ii. pp. 318-419. Neither the chronology nor the geography of the authorities last mentioned is of much consequence in reference to the Rishis, who are handed about by the traditionists ad libitum, both in reference to time and place.

* Mr. Colebrooke, long ago, noticed the authorship of certain hymns of the Rig-Veda as belonging to royal authors, such as; Ma'ndha'tri, son of Yuvana'shva; Shivi, son of Ush'nara Vasumanas, son of Rohida'shva; and Pratardana, son of Divoda'sa. Other hymns of the same Veda are attributed to several of the sons of Vishva'mitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha, and Renu; to Ambari'sha; to Bharata, the father of Devasharva; to Medha'tithi; to Na'bha'ga; to Rahugana; to Vatsapriya, the son of Bha'landana; to Par'uruva, of the Lunar race of kings; to Vena; to Suda'sa; to Gritsamado, the son of Shunahotra, but who afterwards became the son of Shunaka; to Deva'pi' and Shantanu; and to other princely authors. A few of the hymns of the Rig-Veda are even ascribed to females, real or imaginary, as Shachi', the daughter of Pulomana; Shraddha', the daughter of Ka'ma; Gorivi'ti', the daughter of Sakti; and Va'k, the doughter of Abhrina.

On various *gottras*, or families, of Bra'hmans mixed with, or derived from, the regal blood, see legendary notices in Wilson's Vishnu Pura'na, pp. 369, 405, 448, 457, 454, etc.

Dr. John Muir, in his "Original Sanskrit Texts," pp. 44-56, has given a series of "passages sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossess-

3. The Rishis and priests received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the community. The Bra'hmans of the present day are well aware of this fact; but,in deference to their later Sha'stras, they maintain that such marriages were mere indulgences, and confined to the assumption of one wife of each of the higher classes, in addition to those of Bra'hmanical rank. But what will they make of the following story, related in the Ni'ti-Manjari', of Kakshi'vat, the author of several Su'kt as in theRig-Veda, whose mother, Ushik,—it is to be noted,—was the reputed daughter of king Anga's slave ? "Kakshi'vat having finished his course of study, and taken leave of his preceptor, was journeying homeward, when night came on, and he fell asleep by the road-side: early in the morning Ra'ja' Swanaya, the son of Bha'vayavya, attended by his retinue, came to the spot, and disturbed the Brahman's slumbers: upon his starting up the Ra'ja' accosted him with great cordiality, and being struck by his personal appearance, determined, if he was of suitable rank and birth, to give him his daughters in marriage. After ascertaining his fitness, he took Kakshi'vat home with him, and there married him to his ten daughters, presenting him at the same time with a hundred nishkas of gold, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, one thousand and sixty cows, and eleven chariots, one for each of

ions,) Bra'hmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock." Some of the cases referred to by Dr. Muir are the same as those of the parties mentioned it the first paragraph of this note. The historical inference ought not to be pressed beyond the bounds itdicated by Dr. M.

his wives and one for himself, each drawn by four horses." Kakshivat himself, in the Veda, thus celebrates the liberality of his father-in-law:–"From which generous Prince soliciting (my acceptance) I, Kakshivat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls whereby he has spread his imperishable fame through heaven.* Ten chariots drawn by bay steeds, and carrying my wives, stood near me given by Swanaya; and a thousand and sixty cows followed. Forty bay horses (harnessed) to the chariots, lead the procession in front of a thousand followers. The Pajras, the kinsmen of Kakshi'vat, rub down the high-spirited steeds, decorated with golden trappings"† It doe, not appear that Kakshi'vat had any wives of his own class. The supply which he had from the chief was more than sufficient. Other instances of Rishis and priests marrying the daughters of kings are often alluded to.*

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* Those presesnts, aud those which follow, are probably-mentioned without much exaggeration, and seem to be liberal enough; but what are they compared with those ascribed to the kings in after times? King Bharata, according to the Anuvansha, quoted by Colebrooke (Mis. Essays, i. 42. et seq.) distributed at his consecration one hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks and golden coverings! Each of a thousand Bra'hmans, too, received a thousand million cows as his share, better even than the gods in heaven, for the horse-sacrifice to them consisted only of seventy-eight horses burnt at the Yamuna' and fifty-five at the Ganges in Vritraghna. According to the Ra'ma'yana, Dasharatha, at his *Ashvamedha*, gave the whole earth to the Bra'hmans; but being unable to protect it, they modestly declined the present, and received in compensation a hundred thousand cows, ten times ten millions of gold-pieces, and four times this number of silver-pieces.

† Wilsons Rig-Veda, vol. ii. p. 14, 17-18.

4. The term *Kshatriya*, applied by the Sha'stras, or Law Books, to the second or warrior class in the Hindu community, is used in the Vedas only as a denominative of a party possessed of *kshatra*, or power. In this sense it is applied to the gods, as to Indra and Varuna. In the Vedas, the word *Kshetrapati*, the 'owner of a field," is the name of a person possessed of landed property; and the name *Kashatrapati*, "the possessor of power," seems to have been appli: cable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent. *Khsatriya* is the equivalent of *Kshatrapati*. *Kshatra* corresponds, as noticed by Lassen, with the Zend *khsathra*, which also means imperium, agreeing with the Greek κρύτος, and etymologically referring to the attribute of bodily strength. Synonyms of Kshatriya, were *Vishaspati* or *Visha'mpati*, a master of thepeople or village community; *Raj*, the equivalent of the Latin *Rex*, a king; and *Rajanya*, a prince the derivative of *Raj*. The Kings and chiefs of the A'rya's are often praised by the Rishis in the Vedas; but not a word is there uttered about their emanation by birth from the arms of the Godhead. It is a great fact, as noticed by Professor Wilson and others, that "There are [in the Vedas] indications of *Ra'ja's* hostile to the ritual who would not therefore have belonged to the recognized military order "† In the Maha'bha'rata,

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* As those of Chyavana with Sukanya, the daughter of Sharya'ti, and Jamadagni with Renuka', the daughter of Renu.

† Preface to vol. ii. of Rig-Veda, p. xv.

the kingly Kurus and Pancha'las proceed in their senatorial deliberations without the advice of the Brahmans, so necessary to princes according to the code of Manu. 5. In the time of the Vedas, *visha* (related to *vesha*, a house) generally meant people in general; and *Vaishya*, its adjective, was afterwards applied to a householder or to what belonged to an individual of the common people. The Latin *vicus* and the Greek όικος are the correspondents of *vesha*.* *Visha*, if applied, sometimes, to the pastoral, the agricultural, and the other industrial classes of the community, had reference only to their immediate occupations. In an address to the Ashvint in the Rig-Veda, we find the general interests of the community, of the worshipper, or of the institutor of the sacrifice, thus referred to—"Favour the prayer (*brahma*), favour the service; kill the Rakshasas, drive away the evil;........favour the power (*khatra*) and favour the manly-strength; ....favour the cow (*dhenu*, the representative of property); and favour the people (or house, *visha*)." † Interests here occupy the ground which in later times belonged to particular castes. The unity of the whole immigrant race continued marked by the patronymic name A'rya, thus separated ब्रह्म। जिन्वतं । उत । जिन्वतं । धियः। हतं रक्षांसि । सेधतं । अमीवाः ।......नृन्० धेनू : । विशः ।, the word जिन्वतं being to be supplied after each of the last three words, according to the system of notation used. (Author's MS. of Pada of R. V.) Sa'yana Acha'rya, the commentator, under the caste feeling of later times, identifies *brahma* (prayer) with *Bra'hmana* (the man-that-prays, and *kshatra* (power) with *Kshatriya*, the party-exercising-power, and *dhenu*, the cow, and *visha*, the people, with the *Vaishya*, the party-belonging-to-the-people. This interpretation is not to be wondered at; but it is erroneous. The *mantra* referred to is a favourite one with the Brahmans; and, both as in the Rig-Veda and as in an expanded form, it is much used in their more solemn and secret services, and this in such a way as to show that originally it dealt with interests and not with castes. It occurs in this enlarged form at the commencement of the Taittiriya Bra'hmana. of the Black Yajur Veda :—ब्रह्म सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं । क्षत्र्ँ सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं । इष्ँ सन्धत्तां तां मे जिन्वतं । उर्ज्जँ सन्धत्तं तां गे जिन्वतं । रयिँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । पुष्टिँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । प्रजाँ सन्धत्तां तां मे जिन्वतं । वशून् सन्धत्तं तान्मे जिन्वतं (Author's MS.) This may be thus translated:—"Maintian the *prayer*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *power*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *food*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *milk*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *wealth*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *offspring*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *herd*, make-it-prosperous to me.', Sa'yana, in his commentary on this passage identifies *brahma* with the Brahman caste, engaged for the institutor-of-the-sacrifice. *Khatra*, he makes the authority-of-the-head-of-a district. But the other terms used he does not venture to apply to any other alleged castes. In the third mantra of the Taittiri'ya Bra'hmana, the vital-breath, sight, hearing, mind, speech, etc., are coupled with the supplicatory verbs, in the same way as *brahma*, and *khatra*, evidently showing that matters pertaining to the institution of the sacrifice are referred to throughout.

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* *Visha*, was pointed out by Kuhn and Lassen as having this relationship. It occurs in the names of many of our own towns, as Green*wich*, Wool*wich*, etc., as indicated by Dr. Muller. As noticed by the antiquarian historians now mentioned, it has been preserved in the Lithuanish *wiêszpatis*, lord of the manor. *Pati* is recognizable in the Greek δεσπότης. *Dama*, corresponding with the Latin *domus*, is used in Sanskrit for a single house or home.

† This passage, which occurs in the Rig-Veda, 6th. asht. 3rd. adh. 16th. varg., is a very important one. The text, omitting repetitive clauses, runs thus:—ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं धियो हतं रक्षांसि सेधतममीवाः...क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नृन्हतं......धेनुर्जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं विशोह. (M. S. Rig-Veda, of B. B. Royal Asiatic Society). In the Pada, the words are

to which we have often referred. The Vaishyas, in the times of the Pa'ndavas, according to the Maha'bha'rata, had considerable influence in affairs of state, as exemplified in the cases of the wise Vidur and Yuyutsu. It was only by degrees, and after the A'ryas had been settled in the great plains of India, that the Vaishyas got *special* charge of flocks and herds, and agriculture, and merchandise assigned to them, as in the name of Manu; for the time was, as we have already seen, when a cowkeeper was a chieftain in their community.

6. The Shudras, though treated by Manu and Hindu legislation in general, as a component (though enslaved) part of the Indian community, not entitled to the second or sacramental birth, are not even once mentioned in the olden Vedas. They are first locally brought to notice, in the Maha'bha'rata, along with the *Abhiras*, dwelling on the banks of the Indus. The *Abhi'ras*, are recognized as in that position by Ptolemy, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abiria*;* and their representatives are still seen in the *A'hirs*, a class of shepherds and cultivators in Sindh, Kachh, and Ka'thiawa'd. There are distinct classical notices of the Shu'dras in this very locality and its neighbourhood. 'In historical times," says Lassen, "their name reappears in that of the town Συδρος on the lower Indus, and, what is especially worthy of notice, in that of the people Συδροι among the northern Arachosians.† Thus their existence as a distinct nation is es-

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* Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. p. 102. edit. Bert.

† Ptol. vii. 1. 61. vi. 20. 3 They are also mentioned by Dionys. Perieg. v. 1142, under the name Σκύδροι, in which passage other mis-

tablished in the neighbourhood of the Indus, that is to say, in the region in which, in the oldest time, the Aryan Indians dwelt. They [the Aryans] probably conquered these earlier inhabitants; and it becomes manifest from this circumstance, that it was from the conquest of the Aborigines in the interior part of the country, that afterwards, the name [Shu'dra] was extended to the whole servile caste. This name cannot be derived from the Sanskrit; and it is to be presumed that the right spelling should be *Sudra*. If this be correct, it must be sounded *Hu'dra* in old Persian; and this is confirmed by the statement of Megasthenes, that the Indian nations of the '*Ygpakal* sent auxiliaries to the Persians before the time of Alexander."* The extension of the name Shudra to the enslaved and servile classes of the country conquered by the A'ryas, in contradistinction to the more independent and more cordially hated tribes, such as the Chandalas, Ambashthas, etc. etc, must have occurred gradually. Some of the Shudras, and some of the more independent tribes in the interior land, I am inclined, with others, to think, may have spoken a dialect not very disimilar to that of the A'ryas, and may have been the descendants of a prior Aryan immigration.† There

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takes occur, as, e. g., for τῶν δὲ μέσοι ναίουσι Σάβαι καὶ Τοξίλοι ἄνδρες, Σκόδροι δ' ἑξείης. ἐπὶ δ' ἕσπεται ἄγρια φῦλα Πευκανίων. μετὰ τοὺς δὲ Διωνύσου θεράποντες Γαργαρίδαι ναίουσιν. κ. τ. λ. must be read, Σίβαι, Ταξιλοι, Σόδροι, or, according to the variant reading, Σκύδροι, Σύδροι, and Γανδαρίδαι.

* Strabo xv. 1. 6. p. 687. By Steph. Byz. 'Υδάρκαι. They are distinct from the 'Οξυδράκαι, called in Sanskrit *Kshudraka*. Indische Alterthumkunde, vol. i. p. 799-800.

† Many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the A'ryas seem to have an Aryan meaning. There are many words cur-

seems to have been some hesitation in the Aryan community about the actual religious position to be given to the Shu'dras. In the time of the liturgical Bra'hmanas of the Vedas, they were sometimes admitted to take part in the Aryan sacrifices.* Not long afterwards, when the conquests of the Aryans were greatly extended, and they formed a settled state of society among the affluents of the Yamuna' and Ganges, they were degraded to the humiliating and painful position which they occupy in Manu, when the following ordinance (and many others of a similar character there are) was applied to them: "Let him [a Bra'hman] not give advice to a Shu'dra nor what remains from his table; nor clarified butter of wich part has been offered; nor let him give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin : surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in

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rent in the northern family of Indian languages which appear to be more cognate with the Sanskrit than immediately derived from it. This remark is not intended to oppose the belief, also confirmed by the state of the Indian languages, that most of the tribes which entered India before the Aryas must have been of Scythian or Turanian origin. Of the Scythian immigrations, two at least, of extensive character, are marked by the differences in the Scythian words of the northern and southern families of languages.

*Roth, in Zeitschrift of the Germ.Or.Soc. vol i. 83,and Weber's translation on the First Adhya'ya of the Shatapatha-Brahmana, also in that Journal. In this Brahmana there occurs a remarkable passage respecting the call of the sacrificers, to this effect:– "If the sacrificer be a Brahman, it is said, *Ehi*, Come ! if he is a Vaishya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither ! with a Rajabandhu [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rajanya having occurred] it is, *Adrava*, Run hither ! with a Shudra it is *Adrava*, Run hither !"

the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into the hell named *Asamvrita*."* From the reproach of this and all similar degradation of the lower classes of Indian society the ancient Vedas are altogether free. As already said, they do not even once allude to the existence of the Shu'dra.

7. In the time of the Vedas, the idea of the god Brahma', from whose head and arms and thighs and feet the four original castes of the Hindus are held to have been derived, was neither developed nor formed. *Brahma'*, as a member of the Hindu Triad, and as the parent of the races of man, is no god whatever of the Vedas. Brahma, in the neuter gender, in the Vedic language, means prayer; and Brahma', in the masculine, means "he-of-prayer."† *Agni*, the god of fire and sacrifice, is the *Brahma'* the god of prayer, and the *Vrihaspati*, *Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati* the lord of prayer, throughout thd Rig-Veda ‡

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* Manu viii. 417. See pamphlet by the Author on Indian Caste, at present in the press, for further information on the comparative position of the Brahman and Shudra.

† Dr. Roth and Professor Lassen derive *Brahma* from वृह, *orih*, (it is also found in the form वृह, *vrih*), and they view it as equivalent to "make an effort, to shake." These roots, however, mean to speak, to sound, to mutter, etc., as well as to make an effort.

the sense pointed out by Dr. Roth, they may occur, as Eichoff indicates, in the Greek βριάω, to make strong, and βρίθω to be heavy. In the sense which I have ventured to allude to (and of which many Sanskrit illustrations can be produced), it is difficult to see their correlatives in the Greek, unless it be supposed to be found in βρέμω (Lat. *fremo*) to roar, mutter, complain, and its connexions.

‡ Dr. Roth thinks that all the *pati* gods are the result of reflection and of later invention.

Though he is called *Vishpati*, *Visha'mpati* and *Manasaspati*, the lord of men; *Vaishva'nara*, the sovereign of all beings; and *Ja'tavedhas* and *Vedhas Shas'hwata*, the inspector of men and the constant inspector, as practically useful to man in his person and social life, and as the constant consumer of sacrifice and offerings. he is also spoken of as "the Son of Heaven and Earth," as well as their parent, and was both a derivative god and a Creator, when the early Su'ktas were composed.* A desire to have a separate god for prayer, besides the gods of material nature and energy, the ancient deities of the Vedas, begins to be apparent in these writings as they advance; and for this god, Agni, in his function of Brahma', was selected. The Br'ahmans ultimately recognized Brahma; as a distinctive metaphysical god and introduced him to public notice but, however much they themselves contemplated him, they did not succeed in thoroughly establishing his worship among the Indian people. I have heard of only a single temple being dedicated to his honour in the whole of India.† To account for his unpopularity it is feigned, in the later Sh'astras, that he is labouring under a curse from the god Shiva, who even went so far as to cut off one of his heads for his immorality!‡ *Brahma* (the divine thing *Brahma*), is an invention of the ideal Ved'anta, a system of Pantheism long posterior to the Vedas, and really designed to supersede them under the assumed name of the "Aim" or End" of the Vedas.*

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* Rig-Veda, 3rd. Asht. lst. adh. s. 19. † Tod's Ra'ja'stha'n, vol.i.p.774.

‡ Author's First Exposure of Hinduism, p. 42. In the 3rd asht. 8th adh, and 10th varg. of the Rig-Veda, Agni is spoken of as having चत्वारि शृंगा, four horns. These Sa'yana erroneously makes the four Vedas, the collection of which did not exist when the Su'ktas were composed ; but M. Langlois with much probability, makes them the four sides of Agni's eastern fire-pit, in which the myth of Brahmas four faces may have originated.

8. The doctrine, or incident system, of cermonial defilement by touch, or by eating or drinking,—by which the existence of caste is particularly marked in the present social and religious life of the Hindus,—is not recognized in the Vedas in a single instance It is impossible that it should not, in some form or other, have been alluded to in these productions, had it existed when they were formed.

Remarks of the kind now made could easily be expanded and multiplied; but these are sufficient for the purpose for which I have made them, that of proving that Caste, in the sense in which it exists in the present day, was altogether unknown to the ancient Indians, though doubtless, like other consociated peoples, they had varieties of rank and order and occupation in their community. †The discovery of this fact is the most important, connected with our Vedic research. It may aid some timid souls in dealing with Caste, that heavy, and galling, and degrading yoke, which cannot too soon be voluntarily wrenched by the natives from their own necks.

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* This is the etymological meaning of *Vedanta*, from *Veda* and *anta*.

† *A Panchakshita* and *panchajana* (as in a *rich* quoted in a following page) are occasionally mentioned in the Vedas. Sa'yana A'cha'rya, says these expressions refer to the four *varnas*(colours or castes) and the Nisha'da's treated as out-casts, or to the Gandharvas, Pitris, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshasas, as explained in the Nirukta. But Professor Lassen, (vol. i. p. 796.) properly observes that neither of these explanations is admissible. *Kshiti*, as he remarks, is applied in the Veda to men in general and *charshani'*, its synonym is derived from *rish* to plow. The *Nishadas* (etymologically the "settled" Aborigines, but applied to races distinct from the Aryan) were then unknown. Even when they came into notice. they remained exterior to the Aryan state. *Jana*, signifies a person; *panchajani*, in times later than the Veda, an assembly of five men; and *panchajani'na*,

Another discovery, analogous to that which I have now noticed, which has been the result of our investigation of the Vedas is, that when they were composed, the brute creation had neither in imagination nor treatment been raised to the level of man, the chief of God's works below, and alone amongst them endowed with intelligence and moral capacity, rendering him capable of knowing, loving, and consciously serving and delighting in his Creator and Preserver. The word Man is from the Sanskrit, *manu* he that is possessed of, or excercises, मन or मनस् (*mana* or *manas*, in Latin *mens*) a *mind*.* The lower animals, are

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a chief of five men. "It is probable," Lassen adds, "that the oldest social communities consisted only of five families." That *Panchakshiti* and *panchajana* signify an aggregate of five men, is evident ; but what the members of the aggregation were, it is now almost impossible to declare with certainty. Megasthenes speaks of various municipal and military Pentads as existing among the Indians in his day. (Megasthenes in Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 220, et. seq.) Many aggregations of five persons or parties are at present recognized by the Hindus. See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under the compound of पंच. The *Arya Varna* (or colour) is spoken of as a unity in Rig-Veda, 3rd asht. 2. 5. 9.

† *Manu*, as a generic name for Man, is sometimes used by the worshippers instead of the personal pronouns. Its early use as a name of Man by the Aryan people led them afterwards to designate by it the First Man. मन, (mind, which also appears in the form of the verb मन् to know), has preserved its original meaning bettter in the

in the same interesting language, the *Pashu*, the cattle, or beasts, viewed as the property, of man, the Latin *Pecu, Pecunia*.* Animals were used by the Indians of the Vedas in sacrifice The *Ashvamedha*, or sacrifice of a horse is particularly dwelt upon by them in several important Vedic hymns. The sacrifice of the bovine race was also quite familiar to them. "Agni, descendant of Bha'rata," says the Rishi Gritsamada, "thou art entirely ours, when sacrificed to with pregnant cows, with barren cows, or bulls."† But the Rishis made these animals, thus slain in sacrifice, alive again, says the modern Hindu. For this allegation, not the least foundation is to be found in the Veda. Animals, moreover, were not merely used by the ancient Indians in sacrifice; but they were freely used for the purposes of food. With reference to this matter as exhibited in the Vedas, the learned Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, says, "No

Greek μένος (except in such compounds as εὐμενής, δυσμενής, etc.) "The μένος of the Greeks," says Mr. Gladstone in his great work on Homer (vol. i. p. 303) "becomes the Latin *mens*, so that a particular quality, and that one belonging to the πάθη rather than the ἦθη of

the Greek has been the most aberrant in this case. It is interesting to note the permanence of the original high meaning of मन, as comprehending mind, heart, conscience, consciousness, will, liking, etc. etc., among the Indian peoples. Molesworth has devoted a couple of columns in his Marathi Dictionary to its explanation and illustration.

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* The root of *pashu* is *pash*, to tie, bind.

† Wilson's Rig-Veda, ii. 225.

horror was attached to the notion of a joint of beef in ancient days among the Hindus." He founds this remark on the figure, occurring in one of the S'uktas, of Indra "cutting in pieces the limbs of Vṛitra, as of a cow ."* In the third volume of his translation of the Rig-Veda, he thus renders two other passages of the Vedas, which establish the justice of our assertion: "Inasmuch as he has opened the doors of the cloud and has supplied the rapid courses of the waters with (additional) torrents, so when the pious have recourse to Indra for food he finds it in the haunts of the *Gaura* and *Gavaya* [two well-known Indian species of the genus Bos]," "Bestow [Indra] upon him who glorifies thee divine food, the chiefest of which is cattle." His translation is fully warranted by the text.† The ancient Indians were unquestionably beef-eaters. Nor are they to be thought cruel and unmerciful simply on this account. An ox suffers more from a day's hard labour in a cart or a plough, than from the blow, puncture, or cut of the butcher's instrument, or from a stuggle with a beast of prey. The following suggestive passage bearing on this matter, appears in the admirble volume of travels by the "African Columbus," as he has been called Dr. Livingstone, which has just appeared. "The lion caught my shoulder as he sprang, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror, though [I was] quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe, who see all the operation, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake annihilated fear, and allowed no sense of horror in looking round at the beast. This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and, if so, it is a merciful provision by our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death."* I leave the natives now present to draw their own inferences from this passage.

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* Wilson's Rig Veda, vol. i. p. 165. Though the word गोर्न separated as गो: । न । in the Pada of the Veda, and manifestly expressing Cow, is used, the commentator, to avoid the mention of that now "sacred" animal, supplies the clause, as "worldly men, the carvers of *flesh,* divide here and there the limbs of *animals.*" See Text, Mu'ller, vol. i. 451.

† Rig-Veda 3rd asht. 6th adh. 6th varg.; 4th asht. 7th adh 11th varg.

The maintenance by the ancient A'ry'as of perfect lordship over the brute creation now referred to,—a lordship which claimed them as the servants, or supports, of man, both for labour and food—is a presumption that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of the human soul into brute and vegetable forms, had not then been propounded. Of this doctrine, indeed no trace is to be found in the ancient hymns of the Vedas. The celestial elevation of the sons of Angiras; of the Ribhus, the sons of Sudhanvan; and ultimately, of the seven Rishis as the stars of the constellation of the Great Bear, directly militates both against it, and against the notion of the absorption of The spirit of man inot the substance of the Divinity,* The invention of the metempsychosis in aftertimes, has had a most degrading effect on the Hindu mind. The bringing of the brutes up to the level of man has brought down man to the level of brutes. It has driven man entirely from the apprehension of his right position in the scale of creation. It has confused, compounded, and confounded him, to his great dishonour, with beasts and birds, and reptiles, and fishes; with the lowest invertebrated animals; with the plant-like animals; and even with vegetable organisms of every species and variety. I am now an intelligent man, but soon I may be a chattering monkey; I am now a tenderhearted woman, but erelong I may be a ravening wolf, I am now a studious boy, but next year I may be a stupid buffaloe, I am now a playful girl, but after my next birth, I may be a skipping goat. That querulous crow may be my own deceased father, that hungry cat, my own departed mother; that raging bear, my quondam brother; and that crawling serpent, my late sister This is the legitimate language of the metempsychosis. It is generally current among the people of this country; and it has brought them under the slavish fear of the lower animals, even of reptiles, which, according to the present institutes and practices of caste, but contrary to the warrant of the

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*Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa, p 12.

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* Several Hymns specially addressed to the Ribhus are to be found in the 3rd ashtaka, 7th adh. of the Rig-Veda.

Veda,* they refrain from killng,' even when they encroach on the habitations of man.

Other interesting discoveries, like those now adverted to, are to be made by the study of the Vedas.

The horrid rite of Sati' has no sanction in the Vedas, though the Brahmans are accustomed to quote from them a passage favourable to the burning of widows. That passage, as has been shown by Professor Wilson, who has critically investigated its import, speaks of the conservation and not of the cremation of the widow. The Bra'hmanical translation, as given by Colebrooke, is. "Om! let these women, not to be widowed, good wives adorned with coliyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire! Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, well adorned with gems let them pass into the fire, whose element is water."† The philological and critical translation of it is, "May these women who are not widows, but have good husbands, draw near with oil and butter. Let those who are mothers go first to the altar, without sorrow, but decked with fine jewels." It occurs in a hymn addressed to Mrityu, or Death, and used in the funeral services of the Rig-Vedi' Bra'h-mans. The perversion made of the passage was by the change of a single syllable, the substitution of *agneh* for *agre*, making the clause "Let those who are mothers go first to the altar," read, "Let those who are mothers go into the womb of the fire" Well has Dr. Mu'ller said, "This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood."* The passage does not refer to the bereaved widow, but to the visit of condolence to her by unbereaved female friends. The bereaved widow is thus addressed in the verse which follows it:—"Rise up, woman, come to this world of life; thou sleepest nigh unto him whose life is gone. Come to us. Thou hast thus fulfilled thy duties of a wife to the husband who once took thy hand, and made thee mother."† In this earnest call, there is a pleasing expression of affection and sympathy. The discredit of the incremation of widows is consequently not to be associated with the older forms of Hinduism. There is no instance of Sati', or precept referring to Sati', even in the Code ascribed to Manu.

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* See the Su'kta used for relief from the poison of serpents, in Rig-Veda 2nd asht. 5th adh. 14th-16th varg. In the second verse of this hymn, there is a reference to the destruction of serpents; and in the fourteenth, to the slaying of a *nakula*, or mungu's, by a stone, in case of its failing to carry off the poison.

† Colebrooke's Miscell. Essays, p. 116.

I am sorry that I cannot, as now done in the case of Sati', exempt the Vedas from the direct encouragement of Man-sacrifice, or *narmedha*. In the first Ashtaka of the Rig-Veda, the intended sacrifice, as in a rite, of Shunashephas, the son of Aji'gartta, is brought to notice in a series of hymns, which he is represented as reciting when tied to the sacrificial tree or post. The rite has more or less continued among the Indians from the time of the Vedas to the present day.*

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*Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 22. The paper on the passage by Professor Wilson is contained in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. p. 201, et seq.

† For the sake of my native friends, I subjoin the original of both the verses, from the 7th ashtaka, 6th adh., 27th Varga of the Rig-Veda.

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरांजनेन सर्पिषा संविशंतु ॥
अनश्रवोऽनमीवा : सुरत्नारोहंतु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥
उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष एहि ॥
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंबभूय ॥

Baby marriages, if at any time practised in the times of the Vedas, were not then imperative. The following passage is decisive on this matter. "As a virtuous maiden, growing old in the same dwelling with her parents, (claims from them her support), so come I to thee for wealth."† Woman is spoken of in the Veda, as "the light of the dwelling" of the ancient A'rya's, no unequivocal index of her importance and of the kindness of the treatment she received among them. Though the wife seems to have often had a conveyance allotted to her by them distinct from that of her husband she suffered from nothing like the exclusion and confinement of modern times. She was permitted to take an active part even in religious services. "This," says Professor Wilson, "is contrary to the precepts of the law, which prohibit her sharing in the celebration of any solemnity, except that of marriage, and she is on no occasion to recite Mantras, sacred or Vaidik texts.*

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*In one of the groups of figures in the Caves of Elephanta, the comparatively modern god Shiva, in the form of Bhairava, is represented as about to sacrifice a child. The child he holds in one hand, while he has a bare sword, to strike the fatal blow, in another; a bell, to intimate the appointed moment, in a third ; and a vessel, to receive the blood, in a fourth, there being altogether eight hands to the figure.

† Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. ii. p. 251. There ia a curious hymn addressed to the Maruts by a Rishi named Shya'va, or Shya'vashva, priest of Rathavi'ti, dwelling near the mountains of the Gomati river, with whose daughter he fell in love. This rishi was employed by Shashi'yasi' to negotiate a marriage in her behalf with Taranta, the son of Purumilha, the son of Vidadashva. He was successful in the enterprize in behalf of the lady, for which he was rewarded with a hundred cows. He then invoked the Maruts to aid him in getting his own love. Rig-Veda, 4th asht. 3rd adh., Muller, iii. 489-495. See also note in Langlois, Rig Veda, pp. 37-38.

The course of religion established among, and practised by, the A'rya's in the time of the Vedas,—though even in those early days a course of heathenism,—was of a far more simple and intelligible character than that of the Hindus in later times. Thirty-three gods are mentioned in the Vedas. "Gods who are eleven in heaven; who are eleven on earth ; and who are eleven dwelling with glory in mid-air ; may ye be pleased with this our sacrifice."† The later Hindus, by a something like a sevenfold arbitrary use of the cipher,—the origin of which I shall notice at the close of this lecture,—multiplied these gods to the inconvenient number of 330,000,000, more easily pronounced, I should say, than counted.‡.

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*Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. ii. 37.

† Rig-Veda, 2nd asht. 2nd adh. 4th varg.

येदेवासो दिव्येकादश स्थ पृथिव्यामध्येकादश स्थ ।
अप्सुक्षितो महिनैकादश स्थ ते देवोसा यज्ञमिमं जुषध्वं ॥

‡ The commencement of an arbitrary use of numbers in reference to the gods is apparent even in the Rig-veda itself. In the 3rd asht. 1st adh. 7th,. varg., we find the following remarkable invocation, addressed to Agni :—

त्रीणि शता त्री सहस्राण्यग्निं त्रिंशच्च देव नव चासपर्यन् ।

In many passages of the Vedas, Heaven and Earth (*Dya'va'Prithivi'**) are spoken of as parent gods;† but so, frequently, are other divinities so-called. The Triad principally introduced to notice,—by association and not by dogmatic announcement,—consists of *Indra*, our own *Ether*, the god of the air, piercing the clouds with his thunderbolt, the product of his assistant *Tvashtri*, to induce them to shed down their watery treasures;‡ *Varuna*, the *Ouranos* of the Greeks, the

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"Let the three hundred, three thousand, and thirty-nine gods glorify Agni." M. Langlois (Rig-Veda, ii. p. 229) supposes these numbers to be thus formed.

33
303
3,003 which, when added make
———
3,339, agreeing with the text, but, with two additional ciphers interposed, expressed by M. Langlois by 303039.

That 33 is an element in this curious combination, is taken for granted by Sa'yana'cha'rya, (Muller's Rig-Veda, ii. p, 686), who makes it comprehend the 8 Vasavas, 11 Rudras, 12 A'dityas, 1 Indra, and 1 Pra'ja'pati. The other elements of the summation seem to have been a puzzle to that learned Brahman. The ancient Grammarian Ya'ska, as noticed by Colebrooke, resolves all the gods of the Veda in to three. "There are three divinities," he says, "and earth, air, and sky are their dominions; and *Agni*, *Va'yu*, and *Surya* their names" This, however, is a generalization posterior to the Vedas.

* *Prithivi* has no correspondent in Greek or Latin, but *dhara'*, (the supported) another name of the Earth, is perhaps allied to *terra*.

† The collective gods are mentioned as their "sons" in Rig-Veda, 2nd asht. 5th, adh. 2nd. varga, and in other places.

‡ Indra, though not in absolute divine lordship, is certainly the correspondent of the Greek Ζεὺς and Ζευπατήρ. The latter designation is etymologically intelligible from the Sanskrit द्युपितृ (*Dyupitṛi*),

god of the encircling canopy of heaven ;* and *Agni*, the Latin *Ignis*, the Lord of Fire and Heat, and the priest. absorber, or conveyer to the other gods, of all sacrifices.† These gods have each respectively their wives, *Indra'ni'*, *Varuna'ni'*, and *Agnayi'*. Associated with Indra, and often subordinated to him are *Va'yu*, the god of the Wind;‡ *Rudra*, not in the Vedas a name of Shiva, who was then unknown, but the god of roaring Tempests; the *Maruts*, or faint Breezes, the sons of Rudra; and *Vishnu* the god of the brilliant Firmament. The gods of Light, have a prominent place, as *Sura*, or *Surya*, the Sun, with various designations founded on his aspects and effects connected with the progress of the day-and of months and seasons;§ *Ushas*, the Dawn,‖ with the *Ashvins*, or riders,

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the Father-of-the-Sky or of Heaven. *Dyu*, as a radix, means to shine. The cognate word for *Indra* in Greek, is ἀιθής, which must have originally meant the clear or shining sky.

* The ancient Indians seems to have had most to do with Varuna in their moral relations, as it is to him that confession of sin is most distinctly made in the Vedas. He is in the later Hindu mythology the god of the Ocean.

† With the Sanskrit *Ulka'*, a flame, corresponds the Latin *Vulcanus*.

‡ *Va'yu* is from *Va'* to move or blow. *Va'ta*, another form of the word, has the Latin *Ventus*, and the Zend *Va'ta*, as its correspondents.

§ The Greek '*Hw's* corresponds with *ushas*. Liddell and Scott berive *nw's* from the Sanskrit *va'* (to blow). It probably comes from *ush*, which occurs both in Sanskrit and Zend in the sense of to burn, to glow.

‖ The ancient Indians, like the Greeks (e. g. Homer: iii. 276), attributed the perfection of hearing as well as seeing to the Sun; and they sought to contemplate him as they were contemplated by him. Professor Lassen her precursive Rays ; *Chandramas*,* or the Moon (but seldom mentioned), also a forerunner of the Dawn; and the *Vasus*, the personified solar rays. *Nakta*, or Night, herself, is a goddess † *Yama*, the Subduer, or god of human Destiny, with *Yami'* his spouse, and *Mrityu*, or Death, are recognized. *Shukra*,‡ the planet Venus, is mentioned in the Sa'ma Veda as intoxicated with the Soma juice, which has also its own god *Soma*, sometimes figuratively the Moon. *Brihaspati* in the Vedas, is not the planet Jupiter, but the "lord of prayer" a name of Agni, who, as already noticed by us, has also other similar names, including *Brahma'*, of the same import. *Sarasvati*, afterwards the wife of Brahma' is the goddess of eloquence. She is associated with *Ila'* or *Ida'* and *Bha'rati* (the Earth), goddesses of Song. The *A'pah*, or Waters are personified; and the *Aptyas* are water-goddesses The *Vishve-Devas* are sometimes spoken of as the Collective Gods, and sometime as special gods the Protectors of men, in both senses, I think, corresponding with the Amsha'spands and Izads of the

(Indische Altherthumskunde, vol. i. p. 761.) of the traces the Greek, Latin, Gothic, and other Indo-Germanic names Sun to the Sanskrit root *shu* to bear, produce. The Greek ‘Heλios and the Doric ‘‘Aλios (from *Eaϝeλios*) seem recognizable in the Gothic *sa'uil* and sunno, and, like *sol*, come near the Indian names.

* Masculine in Sanskrit. *Chandra*, as shown by Lassen, corresponds with the Latin *candor*, brightness. *Mas* is from *ma'* to measure, applied to time in the months of the year.

† *Nakta* obviously corresponds with the Latin *nox* and the Greek νύξ.

‡ Masculino in Sauskrit.

Pa'rs'is. Among remarkable personification is *Agha'*, the goddess of Evil.[*] corresponding in some respects (though not with the dualistic notions of Zoroaster) with the Ahriman of the Parsis. The *Sindhu*, or river Indus, is a god, and the other Rivers of the Vedas, goddesses. The Ocean also is a divinity. The *Pitris*, or typical ancestors, corresponding with the Faruhars of the Pa'rsi's, are often addressed; and the *Vasus*, already referred to as the solar rays, seem, in some aspects, to be similar to them.[†] The *Ribhus* are deified men, as were afterwards the principal stars of the Great Bear [‡] But I must not here further enlarge on the Vedic divinities individually considered, though I must add that many of the principal gods of the Hindus are not even once mentioned in the Vedas, and that, consequently, they must be considered the inventions of later times. In the Vedas we

[*] See Rig-Veda, 8th asht., 5th adh., 23rd., varg; Sa'ma Veda, Uttara Sanhita', 11th prapa'th. 3d-4th verse. Some copies, as that of the B. B. R. A. S., read *Apva*, for *Agha'* but this by a scriptive error. See the commentaries. Benfey gives *Agha* in his text, and *apva*, in his translation, of the Sama. The Zend for Ahriman is *aghro-mainyu*, the evil-minded-one.

[†] On the meanihg of the word *Vasu*, see Benfey's Sa'ma-Veda, p. 166. As a domestic God Ves-ta(Eo-tia) is there compared with *Vasu*.

[‡] "According to the Nirukta etymology, Ribhu means much light, from *uru* much, and *bha'* to shine.' Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 286. "*Orpheus* is the same word as the Sanskrit *Ribhu* or *Arbhu*, which though it is best known as the name of the three Ribhus [referred to above], was used [also] in the Veda as an epithet of Indra, and a name of the Sun......There may have been an old poet of the name of Orpheus,—for old poets delight in solar names; but the story of Orpheus and Eurydike was neither borrowed from a real event, nor invented without provocation." Mu'ller, in Oxford Essays, 1856. p. 79.

have no Shiva,—though the Bra'hmans wish to find him in Rudra there mentioned,—and none of the members of his family, such as Durga' or Ka'li', his spouse or spouses and Ganesha, and Ka'rtikeya, his sons. In the Vedas we have no Na'ra'yana; and the Vishnu of the Vedas is not of the same character as the Vishnu of the now reputed Triad. In the Vedas, we have no Ra'ma or Krishna, afterwards so popular as deified heroes or as the alleged incarnation of Vishnu. In the Vedas, we miss some of the planetary, and many of the minor, deities of the Hindus.

The Vedic treatment of the gods actually recognized is peculiarly interesting, as shedding great light on the origin of polytheism and mythology. It is, considered in a general point of view, the deification of the prominent objects, energies, agents, and phenomena of nature in their different aspects, particularly a connected with the firmament; and this by parties failing to recognize the spirituality and omnipresence of God,—of whom, probably, they had traditional impressions,—and making the various manifestations of power and glory around them the sensible exhibitions of the action of a diversity of deities. To some extent, also, it has got into the shape in which we find it by figurative and poetical description, and even personifications by gender, having, in the progress of time, been mistaken for the revelation of real living personages. It is long since the attempt was made by me to direct, in public lectures, the attention of the educated youth of this city to both these characteristics of the Vedic religion. The latter of them is illustrated, in the most beautiful and striking manner, by Dr Max Mu'ller in his admirable paper on "Comparative Mytholgy," in the Oxford Essays for 1856. I take from that valuable document only a small portion of a single paragraph. "There is, fortunately, no system of religion or mythology in the *Veda*. Names are used in one hymn as appellatives, in another as names of gods. The same god is sometimes represented as supreme, sometimes as equal, sometimes as inferior to others. The whole nature of these so-called gods is still transparent; their first conception, in many cases clearly perceptible. There are as yet no genealogies, no settled marriages between gods and goddesses. The father is sometimes the son, the brother is the husband, and she who in one hymn is the mother, is in another the wife. As the conceptions of the poet varied, so varied the nture of these gods. Now here is the wide distance which separates the ancient poems of India from the most ancient literature of Greece, more clearly felt than when we compare the growing mythes of the Veda, with the full-grown and decayed mythes on which the poetry of Homer is founded. The Veda is the real Theogony of the Arian races, while that of Hesiod is a distorted caricature of the original image. If we want to know whether the human mind, though endowed with the natural consciousness of a divine power, is driven necessarily and inevitably [without the restriction and guidance of divine revelation] by the irresistible force of language as applied to supernatural and abstract ideas, we must read the *Veda*; and if we want to tell the Hindus what they are worshipping—mere names of natural phenomena, gradually obscured, personified, and deified—we must make them read the *Veda.* It was a mistake of the early Fathers to treat the Heathen gods as demons or evil spirits, and we must take care not to commit the same error with regard to the Hindu gods. Their gods have no more right to any substantive existence than Eos or Hemera—than Nyx or Apate They are masks without an actor, the creations of man, not his creators; they are nomina, not numina; names without being, not beings without names."

In the same way that the Vedas throw light on the origin of mythology, they throw light, I conceive, on the origin of the doctrine of spiritual pantheism, —a doctrine, however, which, as we have already hinted, they do not categorically contain Individual gods mentioned in them are often spoken of by their worshippers as their all in all, as discharging the functions of the combined divinities, and as being the very objects over which they extend their sway. Thus, *Aditi*, the goddess of the Earth, is thus addressed "Aditi is the heaven, Aditi is the firmament, Aditi father, mother and son; Aditiis the *Vishve-Devas* (all the gods collectively); Aditi is the *Pancha-jana* (the pentads of the people) Aditi is generation; Aditi is birth."* Thus, Indra is represented as saying, "I was Manu, I am the Sun I am the wise Rishi' Kakshiv'an" and so forth † Thus of the Sun it is said, "They have denominated him Indra, Mitra, Varuna,

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* अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरंतरिक्षमदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ॥
विश्वे देवा आदितिः पंच जना आदितिर्जातंमदितिर्जनित्वं ॥
Rig-Veda, lst asht. 6th adh. 16th varg.

† अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चाहं कक्षीवां ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः
Rig-Veda, 3d asht. 6th adh. 15th varg.

Agni, and he is the celestial well-winged Garutmat for the intelligent (Vipras) call one by many names, such as Agni, Yama, Ma'tarishvan."* Such identifications as these combined with the personification and deification of material nature, would lead directly to Pantheism. What was merely figurative, in such instances, was afterwards viewed, in the progress of Hindu speculation, as actually real. What was at first only mysticism, was afterwards considered perfect philosophy.

It is possible that idols, the works of Men's hands, were partially in use in the times of the Vedas, for the members of the imaginary bodies of the gods are sometimes spoken of with considerable particularity; but idols are not mentioned in connexion with the direct religious services of the A'ryas, which consisted principally in the preservation of the sacred fire, and in the offering to the gods of the Soma juice, of liquefied butter, of animal sacrifices, and of hymns recited and chaunted. When the Indians, in later times, lost sight of the subordination of the objects of their worship, and constructed artificial idols of their gods, their Aryan brethren of Bactria (the Zoroastrians),—whose ancient Hymns as, seen in the Yacna and Yashts, etc, of the Parsis very much resemble the Hymns of the Vedas, treating often of the same gods in similar style,—raised, it is believed, a loud protest against this deterioration and corruption of worship, even treating the Hindu *Devas* as Devils, and making

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इंद्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदंत्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥
Rig-Veda, 2d asht. 3d adh. 22d varg.

Indra himself, the Devil *Andar*.* In a certain manner and degree we honour the Zoroastrians for this protest; but we, the cousins of the Aryans from the far west, raise our voice, as is well known, against the worship of both artificial and natural idols of any form or character. Even to the great luminary of the heavens, the most glorious object which presents itself to our view, we refuse to give the name of Lord, *Asura*, or *Ahura* † We view the Sun as only the work and agent of deity, and devoutly say.

> "Infinite God, thou great unrivalled ONE !
> Whose glory makes a blot of yonder sun,
> Compared with thine, how dim his beauty seems,
> How quenched the radiance of his golden beams."

The matters now referred to I do not at present discuss in their extensive religious bearings; and here I draw to a close, though some minor matters connected with our subject, and not altogether without interest, I have failed to notice.

Our brief survey of the A'ryas on the banks of the Indus, will, I trust, not be without its use both to the members of this energetic institution from the favoured climes of Britain, and to the numerous natives of India whom I have now the pleasure of seeing before me in this assembly. The acquisition of the Vedas gives us a veritable view of an interesting portion of the ancient world, and reveals to use the workings of the human mind under very peculiar cirmstances and conditions. "India three thousand years ago," when viewed in its own social aspects, was actually better in many respects than India at the present day. India at the present day, however, is more hopeful than India three thousand years ago. India three thousand years ago was just in the infancy of error and misery, destined to attain to a fearful growth. It had lost sight of the great Creator of heaven and earth, both in its thought and worship; and was ready, both in speculation and practice, to wander farther and farther from the centre of truth, light, and love. It had no idea of a universal providence directed by an omniscient and omnipotent God; and it deified the agencies and phenomena of nature, and prostrated itself before them without the distinct recognition of their great Author. Of moral relations as connected with divine law, of which they are the correlatives, it had but a faint idea, Though it attached great importance to sacrifice, it had lost sight of its rationale, as the primitive type of acknowledged guilt on the part of man and of a great ransom from deserved punishment to be granted in the mercy of God through a great Deliveror. It had bards and priests most signally covetous of wealth and honours,—as evinced by their extravagant commendations of those who bestowed on them gifts and largesses,—and ready to put forth and enforce those claims of authority and pree'minence which erelong issued in the institution of Caste. Its military rulers enslaved the nations and peoples whom they conquered, and began to exercise over them the most humiliating oppression, depriving them of religious liberty, and falling short of the full recognition of their common humanity. India, and the present day, though it is in the maturity of what, since the time of the Vedas, has been a continuous course of growing evil, has been challenged, if not arrested, in its ruinous career by wonderful providential dispensations. It has become allied, partly by its own consent, and partly by provoked conquest, with what we have already termed the most enlightened and philanthropic nation in the world. Little more than a year ago, I thus noticed, in a public discourse, the palpable benefits of this connexion. 'The consequence has been the deliverance of India, with exceptional districts peculiarly situated, from violence and oppression; and the bestowment upon it of peace, law, order, and religious liberty, blessings which it never enjoyed under any of its dynasties, however remote. Britain, notwithstanding all her faults and shortcomings—and these we have no wish either to excuse or palliate,—is in reality taking India into her kind and parental embrace, seeking to bestow upon it, by degrees, all the bleessings of which she herself is in possession, or which she herself is striving to obtain. She is labouring to lighten and adjust its burdens, and to multiply its agricultural resources. She has given the whole oceans of the globe to be the quiet pathway of her commerce.

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* This is the popular name of this Devil. In the Zend-Avasta, it occurs both as *Indra* and *Andra*.

A very interesting paper might be written on the accordances and antagonisms of the Veda and the Ava'sta. See an important contribution to their elucidation by Professor N. L. Westergard, in the Journal of the B. B. R. A. S. No. xviii, in which, original notices, the researches respecting them of several German orientalists are referred to.

† *Asura*, is applied to the Sun and to fire in Rig-Veda, iii. 4. 1. 12; iv. 5. 4. 1; iii. 4. s. 15.7. v. 78. and in other places. This in Zend is *Ahura*, rendered by Burnouf, Lord. *Ahura-Mazda* (Hormazd) means the multiscient Lord. I have no doubt, however, that *Ahura* was originally the sun, denominated as Master, as we find in Baal, Moloch, etc.

She is joining district to district, and province to province, by roads and bridges and excavations of mountain passes, and by a system of communication, by steam and lightning and land and sea and air, which its inhabitants deem miraculous. She is seeking to elevate all her tribes in the scale of humanity. She is seen, as an angel of mercy, arresting alike the hand of the infátuated orphan son kindling the funeral pyre to burn the living as well as the dead parent; the hand of the parent cruelly put forth to destroy, in the pride of tribe and caste, the unwelcome female child; and the hand of the misguided and miserable devotee seeking to extinguish his own lif: She has put an end to the drink offerings and meat-offerings of human blood and human flesh to gods and devils. She is seeking to dispense justice and judgment throughout the land, improving from time to time the instruments of her administration, many of whom, as can easily by accounted for, are but imperfect and unsuitable. The enlightenment of India, in literature, art, and science, and the facilitating the diffusion of the truth throughout its borders, have been and are now, more than ever, her anxious care"* After the occurrences of the past year, *annus tristis* in the annals of British India, - in which a portion of the sons of India have, with so much wickedness and cruelty, sought to destroy their great benefactors, shall I modify the language here used, and qualify the hopes which the facts here noticed awaken in our bosoms? No! Looking at affairs in their general aspects, and with a devout recognition providential dispensations, which still point to a glorious issue this I shall not do. The events of the past year have revealed to us, Britons, our errors in the interpretation of the social materials around us, and of our own shortcomings in connexion with the agencies with which we have to deal with them; but they have rather quickened than extinguished our benevolence and beneficence, and strengthened rather than diminished our determination to labour for the good of India as well as for the stability of the British empire in all its extent. The growing intelligence of India will henceforth, more than ever, perceive our power under God, and appreciate the blessings which we have to offer to all to whom our sway extends. The British sovereignty is still here in her mercy and compassion as well as in her majesty and compulsion. The soldier is here; and he is fighting for peace and order, and not for war and plunder. The administrator is here; and it is the common weal which he is striving to promote and impartial justice which he is seeking to dispense. The merchant is here ; and what he cannot obtain by the simple exchange of commodities, he pays for by the silver and gold of other climes. The engineer is here ; and in alliance with the subtile agencies of nature framed and guided by an unerring providence, and with the cunning resources of science and art, he is devising and executing public works of inestimable utility and grandeur,—like those to which our attention was so lately directed in this place by the accomplished and able president of this institution.* The educationist, both of the school and the press, is here ; and he is dispensing that instruction in which centre all the secular resources and appliances of which the most advanced nations on the face of the globe are possessed The missionary is here; and he is bearing tidings of love and grace from heaven, and of a full and glorious salvation, extending both to the life which now is and that which is to come, purchased by the manifested Son of God, and to be conferred on all who will believingly and heartly receive it. India to-day, I hold, is only passing through a mental and spiritual metamorphosis, destined, through the grace and power of God, to issue in its complete regeneration. The present troubles in the North-west,–the seat of the A'ryas in the times of its organized Brahmanical legislation,–are, I hope and believe, only the birth-throes of Civilization and Christianization.

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* Star of Bethlehem, pp. 35-36, 2d. edit.

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* Allusion is here made to Mr. Berkley's interesting paper on the Bor Gha't Incline the (largest in the world,) far surmounting the Sahya'dri' range of mountains.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOT : ON THE ORIGIN OF THE UNITS OF THE INDIAN AND EUROPEAN NUMERALS.

[*Delivered at the close of the preceding Lecture.*]

IT is not my intention at present to enter into what my be called the literature of the various questions which have been raised relative to this interesting matter. With that literature, except as connected with Indian research, I am but partilly acquainted. I confine my attention to the results of my own incidental observation, which several of my friends, to whom I have occasionally shown them, have pronounced satisfactory, and who,—like Mr. Layard on his late visit to Bombay,—have urged me to give them in some form or other to the public.

1. The first unit, *one*, occurs in the Cave-inscriptions of Westernn India as a single horizontal bar, of this form–.For the expression of a fractional unity it is still retained in this position,as is well know

at least in the provinces contiguous to ourselves. It is identical with the Chinese 一 (*ye*), from which it is in all probability derived. In its cursive form it has assumed an upright position, with such a cursive head as haste, or taste in writing, may have produced. In the Maráthí current hand it appears as १. With the Arabs, who acknowledge that their alphabet was derived from India, it is ١. With the Modern Europeans, who have derived their numerals from the Arabs and Moors, it is 1.

2. The Cave form of *two* is 二, agreeing with the Chinese 二. This form is preserved also in Indian fractional notation. It is the origin of the Indian cursive two, formed thus ƨ, and appearing in constant use, as you may see on the public conveyances on our streets. In this established form २, the origin of the Arabic ٢, the horizontal form of the original having been made vertical, we have our own 2, which approximates to the current Indian form.

3. *Three*, both on the Indian Caves, and among the Chinese is, 三 which, when cursively united, through ⋾, becomes ३ as in the Maráthi script character. In the Arabic of the present day, this is ٣, the three limbs of the figure being used vertically, instead of horizontally in which form it would appear as ω. Our own 3 is nearer the Indian letter than the Arabic.

4. *Four* is represented in Chinese either by four horizontal bars, or, as is most commonly the case, by a square of this form, 四, including two diacritical marks, and named *sú*. One of the oldest Indian forms of four is also a square, as is evident from its duplication in ◫, the representative of eight, occurring in the Cave inscriptions. In the Indian languages the original, in cursive writing, has passed, through □ and ȣ, into ४, the form in which it now appears, from which our own 4 has been derived. ᛘ, an ancient Indian form, occurring on the Bhilsa Topes, is five minus one, as will be seen from our next paragraph.

5. To show the origin of *five*, I must pass on, by anticipation, to the Chinese ten, which is merely a digital mark, 十, formed like the Etruscan or Roman X, to signify the completion of the numbers represented by the ten fingers, the great arithmetical indices of most nations. In the same way as V, the half of X, became the representative of five, so in the Indian languages, as seen on the oldest Cave and Coin Inscriptions, ⊣ and ⊢ (the representatives of the half of 十

or ten) have become the representatives of *five*. In a cursive form, ⊣ through ⊣, has become ५. the present representative of five in most of the Indian languages. Another Indian cursive form of ⊣ is ડ, and of ⊢ is ȝ. which, with the addition of the two lines often put at the top in Indian writing, become ट and Ʒ, the last of which agrees with our own 5. which was probably in use at one time among the Arabs, who now, as their typical form, use ۵, resolvable into three plus two, and most commonly abbreviated into ٥.

6. The original Arabic *six* was probably 9, being five plus one; and, open at the top for abbreviation, it is now ५. Our own 6 is merely an inversion of the original Arabic sign. The Indians now use ६, (the reversion of 3, in duplication), for six, as on our Bombay street carriages. Six, in Chinese, is 六, (*lo*), which does not seem to have been adopted by the Indians.

7. I am not able to throw any light on the formation of the figure for *seven*. On one of the Kúralá Cave-inscriptions it occurs both in letters and figure. The figure, however, has been injured; and its precise original form is not now ascertainable. In the Indian typical script form, it is ७, resembling our nine. In Arabic it is V.

8. Several forms of *eight* occur on the Cave and Coin Inscriptions of Western India, the principal of which are ◫, ∞, and ⊏⊐ which throw light on our own 8, used by Boethius, showing, as I have already remarked, that it is the duplication of the original four, □. In Chinese, eight is 八, which, placed vertically, <, is one of the Indian (Nágarí) forms of eight. In the Maráthí script character, it is ८. an abbreviation not only of the Nágarí, but probably of 8, made in this way ȣ, only half the letter being used. In Arabic it is Λ.

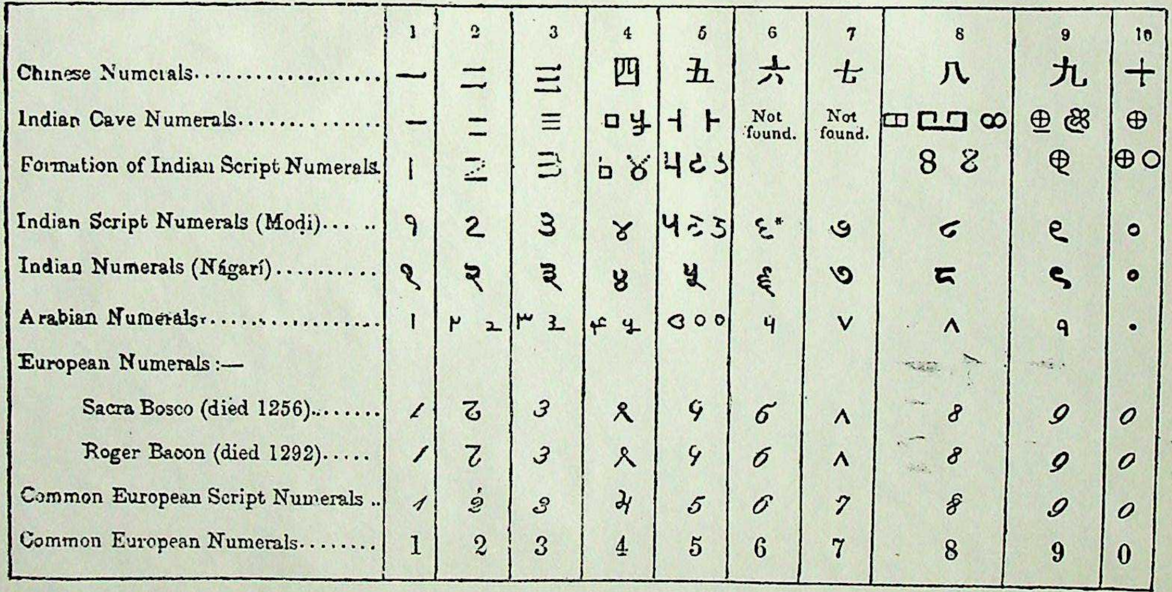
9. The oldest form of *nine* with which I am acquainted occurs on the Bhilsa Topes in Central India, so ably illustrated by Major Cunningham. It occurs as ⊕, in ⊕ ≡ (93). The ⊕ is ten minus one. Omitting the interior of the upper cipher, and making a cursive adaptation of the letter, that it may be formed without lifting the pen from the paper, it becomes ९, as in the Maráthí and other Indian writings. From the reversion of this, in the Arabic ٩, comes our own 9. The Chinese 九 seems not to have been used by the Indians, directly at least, though it appears to represent ten minus one. An ancient Indian form of nine, ⊛. occurring on coins and copperplates, is a mere variant of ⊕.

10. *Ten*, as I have already mentioned, is + in the Chinese writing. The Indians, on availing themselves of this form, probably to avoid its being confounded with +, the oldest form of their letter **K**, (as seen on the Cave inscriptions), surrounded it with a cipher, making it ⊕. The inconvenience of this numeral led ultimately to the omission of its interior portion, giving the Indians, the Arabs, and ourselves, our present decimal cipher, **o**, of which the simple dot ^{o} in decimal fractions, first used by the Indians, is only a further abbreviation. Among Arabs the ^{o} is used for **o**.

On the various systems of representing tens, hundreds, thousands, and so forth, by the Chinese, Indians, and other ancient eastern nations, I do not here enter; for the Indian inscriptions show that it was long before a conventional agreement in these matters was obtained. No adequate illustration can be made of them in a short compass.

The few observations which I have here made are intended merely to throw some light on the origin of our simple numerals. They militate against the theory of Mr. James Prinsep,–whose ingenuity in the decipherment of the ancient Indian alphabets has led to invaluable discoveries in Indian antiquities,—who was inclined to hold that the Indian figures have been derived from the inceptive letters of their Sanskrit names. [See Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, carefully and ably edited and illustrated by Mr. Edward Thomas, C.S] Though the Indians have, in all probablity, borrowed some figures from the Chinese, they have greatly improved upon their original. It is from India, through the intermediation of the Arabs, probably that our own numeral system has been derived.

TABLE OF NUMERAL UNITS.



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Chinese Numerals	一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	十
Indian Cave Numerals	—	=	≡	□ ¥	⊣ ⊢	Not found.	Not found.	⊟ ⊔ ∞	⊕ ꕤ	⊕
Formation of Indian Script Numerals	|	=	≡	ɒ ४	५ ५ ५			8 ८	⊕	⊕ ○
Indian Script Numerals (Modi)	९	२	३	४	५ ५ ५	६*	७	८	९	०
Indian Numerals (Nágarí)	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Arabian Numerals	١	٢ ٢	٣ ٣	٤ ٤	٥ 0 0	٦	٧	٨	٩	•
European Numerals:—										
Sacra Bosco (died 1256)	1	2	3	4	5	6	Λ	8	9	0
Roger Bacon (died 1292)	1	2	3	4	5	6	Λ	8	9	0
Common European Script Numerals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Common European Numerals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

* Inversion of ३

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